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I.—*The Distribution of the Angles and Saxons Archaeologically Considered*

By E. T. Leeds, *Esq., F.S.A.*

FOREWORD

This monograph was originally intended as a study of the various types of so-called small-long brooch and their distribution. It has, however, grown far beyond the limits of a single class, because for purposes of comparison I found myself led on to compile one map after another illustrating the distribution of other of the humbler Anglo-Saxon brooch-types, and also certain aspects of the distribution of better known types and of other objects in use among the Anglo-Saxons outside eastern Kent. This series of maps, it is hoped, will supplement those relating to the more ornate brooches published in my *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (Rhind Lectures, 1935).

The material from which they have been built up has been collected over a long period of years, and enforced abstention from active field-work has suggested to me that I might usefully make this material available in concentrated form for students of the period.

The catalogue of small-long brooches, published as an appendix is, I believe, almost complete; the few omissions to date can easily be added and can hardly make any appreciable difference to the maps or the conclusions I have based upon them. In some other sections I do not lay claim to the same degree of completeness; the records from which I have built up the maps have, however, been carefully filed and will one day find a home in the Ashmolean Museum.

In the course of the work I have had to seek assistance to fill up gaps and verify doubtful points and I wish to record my deep gratitude to all those who have furnished me with information, photographs, and sketches, especially to the Keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, Mr. T. D. Kendrick and Mr. R. L. Bruce-Mitford, Assistant-Keeper; to Miss M. O'Reilly, University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge; and Mr. T. Sheppard, Municipal Museums, Hull; to Mr. C. E. Fisher (Maidstone); Mr. W. L. Sarjant (Oakham); and Mr. F. C. Cottrill (Leicester); and finally to Mr. R. W. Brown, Librarian and Curator, Northampton, for facilities afforded to Mr. J. R. Moss (Brasenose College), enabling him to carry out a useful and necessary revision in the important collections in that museum.

I wish also to express my thanks to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries who accepted this monograph for publication without previous verbal communication.

The maps, based by permission of H.M. Stationery Office on the maps of Roman Britain and the Dark Ages published by the Archaeological Section of H.M. Ordnance Survey, have been drawn by the Oxford University Press, to whom I am much indebted for the care taken in their preparation.

INTRODUCTION

It is perhaps only natural that students of early Anglo-Saxon archaeology should be more attracted by the richer and more pretentious material and products of that age than by the minor antiquities. Undoubtedly much has been and is still to be learnt from the former; the contents of graves like that recently discovered at Sutton Hoo, the furniture of the mound at Taplow, that of many of the richer graves in Kentish cemeteries, and in other districts of graves which have produced the great square-headed brooches or the more exotic cruciform brooches, one and all represent the possessions of high chiefs and the richer members of the various communities inhabiting the places where the finds have been made.

Even though they afford valuable indications of the tribal units constituting the first settlers and of the territorial limits of those units and of their interactions with one another, nevertheless, if no account be taken of the less spectacular classes of ornaments and other objects deposited in the graves, the picture drawn must necessarily remain incomplete. Only the high lights have been portrayed; the details and much of the background has been omitted. It is only from a study of these details that many interesting data can be obtained. Mr. J. N. L. Myres has, from his survey of Anglo-Saxon pottery, already been able to draw important conclusions along these lines.[1] The purpose of the first part of the present study is an endeavour to demonstrate the like importance of the group of brooches to which the designation 'small-long' has been applied. These brooches have been treated by Reginald Smith and by others, briefly for example by Åberg and for the Cambridge Region by Lethbridge, but never have their varieties and distribution been exhaustively examined, and it has seemed to the writer that a very important element in Anglo-Saxon archaeology has not received the full attention it has deserved. To make the study more complete a survey of other varieties of the commoner brooches is included, and in addition notes are appended on better known classes which serve to complement and reinforce the conclusions drawn from the material which forms the main subject of this survey.

The regional character of ornament among less advanced peoples is a commonplace of archaeology and ethnology. The distinctive types of caps worn by

[1] *Antiq. Journ.*, xvii, 424-37; *Antiquity*, xi, 389-99; *Norfolk and Norwich Arch. Soc.*, xxvii, 185-212.

women in different parts of Brittany, the markedly localized character of the weaving-patterns employed in rug-making in various districts of Scandinavia, and, to draw a closer parallel, the enormous variety exhibited by simple peasant jewellery all over Europe, will more than suffice to illustrate the point. In studies of more modern folk-culture the value of these humbler features is fully appreciated; in the study of older civilizations they have an equal worth. Especially may this claim to be true, where we have to deal with a culture, the chronological and spatial limits of which are so narrowly defined, as is the case in early England. Indeed they are able to yield lessons of an even wider significance than can their more ornate counterparts, for the simple reason that their very humbleness introduces us at once to the general mass of the inhabitants of the settled districts, as compared with the higher standing and wealth designated by the richer material.

It is not hereby implied that the objects of the present study never occur in the more richly appointed graves. Far otherwise; much useful evidence for their relative chronology is supplied by associated groups.[1] They occur, however, chiefly in the poorer graves, in the case of the small-long, disc, annular, and penannular brooches very frequently in pairs, and it is these occurrences in particular that emphasize the local character of certain types or of particular developments of a given type.

From a study of the distribution-maps which illustrate this paper it will become evident that the localization varies in intensity at different periods of the two centuries (roughly estimated) covered by the objects under survey, and, further, that the intensity appears to become more marked as time goes on. At first the distribution is in some cases quite widespread, suggesting that in the first rush of the invasion the newcomers did not consist of absolutely homogeneous units, but of composite bands from different quarters of northern Europe. Later, when the various districts were more or less firmly settled, the predominant element in a given unit naturally asserts its personality and forms a localized group, in some cases developing cultural characteristics quite special to itself. The mere fact that the group has succeeded in doing so is fair proof of its strength and influence; thus it is that the maps disclose the existence of *foci* that may possibly have a definite significance for the history of the region in which they appear. For it is only movement in the mass that can bring about great changes in folk-culture, and, if a district exhibits signs of a dualized culture, it is important to establish which of the two constituents is the earlier, and from what quarter the second was imposed upon the first.

It is not claimed that any very striking or numerous illustrations of the above axioms can be furnished within so small an area as that of early England, but

[1] A summary of grave-groups providing such associations is given in Appendix II.

it must be admitted that considering how confined are the spatial limits of early Anglo-Saxon archaeological material, the characters it exhibits are unusually varied. This being so, it is fair to expect that intensive study of the material will allow of greater definition being given to the boundaries within which the groups (or may be tribes) distinguished by particular aspects of this varied culture lived and had their being. Similarly it may be possible to compute more exactly the periods at which contact of one group with its neighbours becomes noticeably closer. It is not always easy to decide whether this closer contact was due to peaceful trade alone or to those political causes which run like coloured threads through the warp of the early chronicles. Nevertheless the archaeological data do afford indications that in some cases economic intercourse is by itself insufficient to explain the phenomena they present.

Finally, there is another aspect that study of the humbler material serves to bring into greater prominence, namely, the question of survival of the native population. Hardly anyone credits nowadays the possibility of total extermination: in the worst and most devastating invasions this accusation has never been wholly true. In early England, even though it might apply in a large measure to the male portion of the older population, it is certain that many women must have been spared to become the slaves, concubines, or wives of the invaders. Here again the story of extermination differs in veracity according to the region to which it is applied; for it can be clearly demonstrated that in some districts an element, possibly quite considerable, of the earlier women-folk must have survived. Conservatism in fashion among women at the present day is almost beyond the range of human conception, but it is not an unknown phenomenon in the world's history, especially among peasant folk. Consequently there can be no cause for surprise, if data are available, which can only be satisfactorily interpreted by an assumption of the continued existence of *unexterminated* natives. These, as will be seen, may be further differentiated, according to the particular district in which they lived.

SMALL-LONG BROOCHES

(i) Continental.

The period of overlap when a large migration of people takes place from one country to another is an interesting subject for study. It bristles with problems involving time, space, and organization, and particularly the question of numbers, because, given the facts about this last aspect, it makes it easier to reckon how soon the period of migration may be said to have passed into one of settlement. Naturally the process demanded some time, but where the migration was large a generation seems to be a fair estimate. At the expiration of

some such period the immigrants may be supposed to have re-established some measure of their normal life and activities.

In the case of the Anglo-Saxon invasion we have fair proof that the above accords with the facts. That the invaders came over in large numbers is beyond all question. Even Bede, writing in A.D. 730 of the Angles, states that the districts from which they came 'are deserted unto this day', thus pointing to an extensive depopulation of parts of north Germany as far as the Baltic. This statement is strongly supported by the archaeological evidence, since the cemeteries, some of them containing up to 4,000 burials (nearly all cremated), which cover periods of 300 to 400 years, go out of use at the time when those in England, containing grave-furniture, ornaments, etc. like those of the latest graves in north Germany, begin to appear.

Naturally, however, the period of actual migration is one of general disturbance, and not until established settlement ensues is it possible to trace once more a regular continuity in the culture of the people concerned. There is in fact an archaeological overlap, composed of sporadic parallels, more or less exact, and of a larger number of resemblances, not all of which are of equal value in assessing the time needed for the arts and crafts to resume their normal course of development.

The less conspicuous objects are often the most helpful, and among them may be reckoned the small-long brooches. They are so much a feature of English Anglo-Saxondom that it is astonishing to find that they are seemingly quite scarce in the districts from which the invaders came. Possibly the practice of cremation is responsible for much destruction or for mutilation which may have led to objects being overlooked or neglected when reduced to misshapen pieces of metal, but the fact remains, nevertheless, that the continental material available for comparison is deplorably small, a lack not remedied in any respect by the wholly inadequate publication of the discoveries in north German cemeteries.

In the following sections the small-long brooches have been grouped in a few main classes, to some of which have been allotted sub-varieties that appear to have been derived through a prototype like that by which the class is headed.

Applying this division to the continental material it will be seen that the following facts emerge:

(1) *Trefoil-headed.*[1] Nothing comparable appears to be known; Salin,

[1] To facilitate classification of the types I have adopted a terminology which, even if not strictly accurate in detail, at least allows a rapid distinction to be made between the numerous varieties of form in which these brooches were made. The term *trefoil-headed* is not new, and the term *cross pattee* has also been employed in the past, not always quite correctly. In many of the older accounts of grave-finds the term cruciform is used, sometimes quite loosely. The catalogue accompanying this paper allows them, I trust, to be determined exactly in every case.

The term *cross potent* is, I believe, new in this connexion; I have adopted it to cover a large

Shetelig, Åberg, and Plettke cite nothing like it. It may have come through a brooch like that from Kvasseim (fig. 27*a*), itself a development of that suggested by Shetelig[1] as the origin of the next class.

(2) *Cross potent and derivatives.* This, apparently the most widely represented type, is well illustrated by a series of four brooches from the cemetery at Borgstedt, one each from Perlberg and Quelkhorn, Hanover, one from Hoogebeintum, in the province of Friesland, Holland, and one from Krefeld-Gellep, near Dortmund, Westphalia. Only one from Borgstedt and one from Quelkhorn,[2] the latter twisted by heat, show an early stage; the others have reached a development in which the arms have coalesced, leaving two perforations in place of notches (fig. 1).

This type has been found in what looks like an earlier phase in Lunde, Western Norway (fig. 1 *a–b*), but Shetelig dates the find to *c.* A.D. 500, which is rather later than one would be inclined to set the cessation of the north German cemeteries.[3]

The brooch from Hoogebeintum may be an export from England,[4] where close parallels are known (p. 20). The brooch from Krefeld-Gellep[5] is interesting, since it illustrates one of the lines of deterioration, which can be observed in several English classes.

(3) *Cross pattee.* A good example of this type of head-plate comes from

group which apparently has a different history from those covered by the term *cross pattee.* The term *cross potent* in its heraldic connotation is a right-angled cross with rectangular finials, the distinction between it and the cross pattee being well illustrated on the arms of the See of Lichfield, which blazons (omitting the tinctures) per pale, a *cross potent quadrat* between four crosses pattee (J. H. Parker, *Glossary of Terms used in Heraldry*, 2nd ed., p. 175). The first group of brooches included under this head have rounded instead of right angles to the arms, and a second group with rounded angles are more akin to what is heraldically termed the *cross pattee formee* (*op. cit.*, p. 171), but it seems certain that (*morphologically*) they both belong to the cross potent rather than to the cross pattee class or to an entirely separate class. The eventual development into a form exactly corresponding to the *cross potent quadrat* of heraldry is the justification for the adoption of this nomenclature.

Even the use of *cross pattee* is not absolutely accurate, because the early forms have always a round notch, or rather an incomplete perforation at the apex of the angle between the arms of the cross. In some old accounts the term 'spade-shaped' occurs; this, as will be seen, could be quite misleading, since in addition to brooches of the square-headed class it could include examples which I have catalogued in both the cross potent and cross pattee classes; together with some of those grouped under brooches with lozenge-shaped feet.

[1] H. Shetelig, *Cruciform Brooches of Norway*, pp. 91–2.

[2] I have noted also a similar example from Frøstrup-Korup, Fünen, in Odense Museum.

[3] J. Mestorf, *Alterthümer von Schleswig-Holstein*, pl. XLIX, no. 592; H. Shetelig, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–7, figs. 161 and 167; B. Salin, *Altgermanische Thierornamentik*, fig. 166; A. Plettke, *Die Urnenfriedhöfe in Niedersachsen, Ursprung und Ausbreitung der Angeln und Sachsen*, Taf. V, 10 and 12.

[4] See my *Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, p. 94 and fig. 18, second in upper row; P. C. J. H. Boeles, *Friesland tot de elfde Eeuw*, pl. XXXII, 6.

[5] Albert Steeger, *Funde der Völkerwanderungszeit aus Krefeld* (1937), no. 28.

Borgstedt (fig. 2 *a*), while a diminutive brooch from a site in Bohüslan, Sweden (fig. 2 *b*), shows the coalescence of the arms, with the slits leading to the notches in the prototype designated by engraved lines.

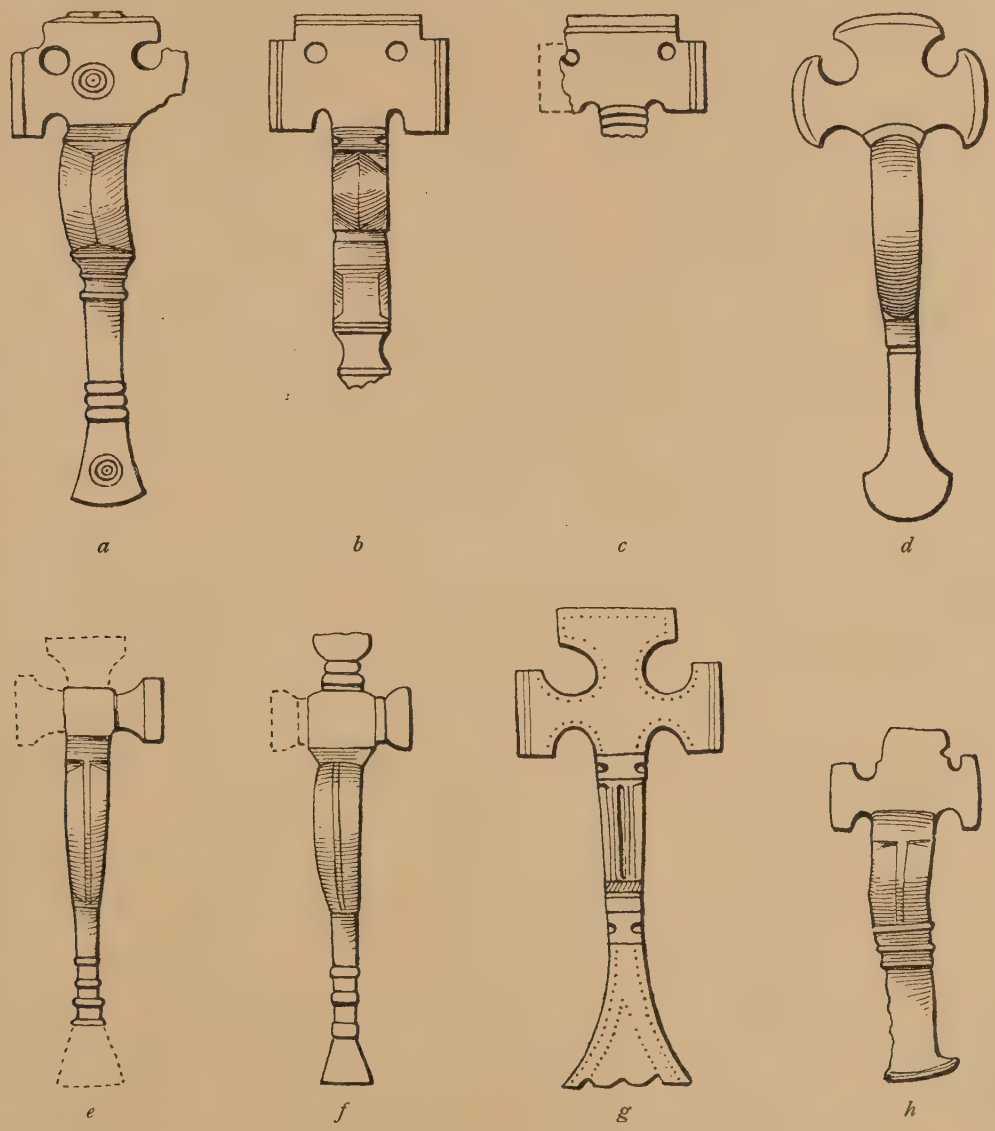


Fig. 1. Continental small-long brooches
(*a–b*) Lunde, W. Norway; (*c*, *e*, and *f*) Borgstedt, Schleswig; (*d*) Quelkhorn, Hanover; (*g*) Perlberg, Hanover; (*h*) Krefeld-Gellep, Westphalia ($\frac{1}{1}$)

If the classification of derivatives adopted in the subsequent account of the English series is correct, a curious brooch from Døsen, near Bergen (fig. 2 *c*),[1]

[1] H. Shetelig, *Vestlandske Grave fra Jernalderen*, 133, fig. 316.

appears to represent a stage in western Norway parallel to that in England designated in the Catalogue cross pattee (derivatives) (*e*) i (p. 95).

4. *Square-headed.* For this type I can adduce no continental parallel, apart from an indifferent sketch of a brooch from Holzbalge, near Nienburg, Han-

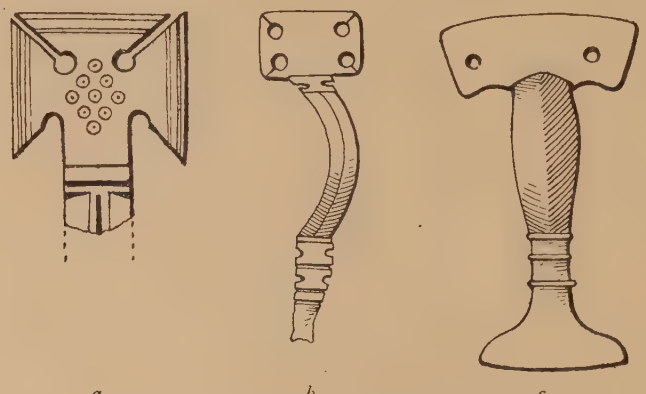


Fig. 2. Continental small-long brooches
(*a*) Borgstedt, Schleswig; (*b*) Bohüslan, Sweden;
(*c*) Døsen, W. Norway (¼)

over[1]; it may possibly, however, be connected with the cross pattee group (see p. 30).

5. *Lozenge-shaped foot.* This shape of foot with its characteristically ribbed finial recurs frequently in England. As there, so on the Continent it is associated with a variety of head-plates (fig. 3),[2] among which that of the brooch from Småland or Öland, Sweden, is apparently an early type; a brooch of similar shape is known in England, from Higham, Kent.[3]

(ii) English.

Trefoil: distribution-maps (figs. 6–7).

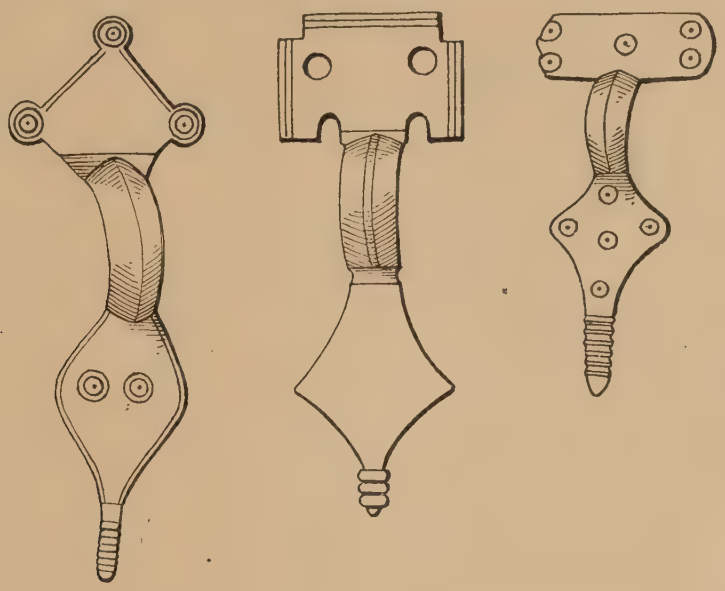
This is the largest and the most varied class: it also has a wider distribution than any other. In its essence it is a simplified cruciform brooch, in which the knobs, instead of being moulded in the round and in their early stages attached to the head-plate as separate members, are part and parcel of the head-plate and are cast flat instead of in the round. The lateral knobs or lobes thus exercise no function in securing the axis of the spring coil. Initially the type is a cheap variant of a cruciform brooch of about A.D. 500 and that is

[1] A. Plettke, *op. cit.*, Taf. 10, 9.

[2] Another variety with a broad-armed cruciform head-plate is figured by Vedel, *Bornholms Oldtidsminder og Oldsager*, fig. 63.

[3] Rochester Museum, C. 123

one of the reasons for its variety, since it develops *pari passu* with the larger models which at the outset it was intended to imitate. Morphologically the earliest examples are those with both the lobes and head-plate moderate in size, and with a triangular foot (fig. 4 *a*). Such specimens are few in number; signs



a *b* *c*

Fig. 3. Continental small-long brooches

(*a*) Småland or Öland, Sweden; (*b*) Borgstedt, Schleswig; (*c*) Holzbalge, Hanover (¼)

of deterioration soon become evident, especially in the workmanship on the bow and foot. As in the case of some other types a median groove on the bow appears on the early examples. These have an interesting distribution, for among them can be cited brooches from Birdoswald, Northumberland, Brough, Notts., Bracebridge and Sleaford (grave 169), Lincs., Little Wilbraham (grave 122) and Linton Heath, Cambs., Kempston, Beds., Abingdon, Berks. (one with cremation), and High Down, Sussex, thus at widespread sites, several of which show clear signs of early settlement.

Deterioration sets in rapidly, expressing itself in enlargement of the lobes, careless work in the moulding of the bow and the shaping of the foot. Examples of this stage (fig. 4 *b* and *e*) are again found widely distributed, in Mercia and Lindsey, at Stapenhill and Wicknor (advanced R. Trent sites), in mid-Anglia (e.g. at Kempston, Duston, and Holdenby), and in the eastern counties, particularly in north Suffolk and in Cambridgeshire (numerous): for Wessex I can cite a single specimen from Brighthampton.[1]

[1] B. Salin, *Altgermanische Thierornamentik*, fig. 165.

Examples with crescentically edged foot (fig. 4 *c–d*) seem to be more restricted, both in quantity and range, occurring in the same East Anglian region, with two or three in Wessex (Brighthampton and Filkins). In mid-Anglia there are examples from St. Neots (Hunts.), Naseby Field, and Marston St. Lawrence (Northants), but alongside of them mid-Anglia and Mercia produce a special variant, obviously late in date, in which the lobes are exaggerated, the angles of the head-plate having been eliminated, while the trefoil character is accentuated by the substitution of round notches. The beginning of this process can be seen in the brooch from Marston St. Lawrence[1] mentioned above, is yet more fully expressed in others from Duston in the same county, and from Baginton, Warwicks., and culminates in another from Marston St. Lawrence (fig. 4 *f*).[2] These last may be even later in date than others more elaborate in detail (see *infra*); the two from Marston St. Lawrence in particular have an elongated prismatically faceted bow which, as will appear, recurs on advanced variants of other types of the 'small-long brooch'. They are certainly later than a variant (without lappets on each side of the upper end of the foot), which has a lobed projection at the end of the foot, known only from Haslingfield (fig. 4 *g*) and St. John's Cricket Ground, Cambridge.[3] A freak from mid-Anglia is a brooch from Islip, Northants, with a long pointed foot with two lateral lobes matching those on the head (fig. 5 *c*).

The introduction of lappets in a simple form manifests itself experimentally, at Brooke, Norfolk, on what has otherwise all the features of the brooch in its earliest phase, but at West Stow, Suffolk, and at Barrington A[4] (fig. 5 *a*), they are associated with variants of the crescentic foot, in one case at West Stow evidently very late.[5] These are all I can list.

Even less numerous are trefoil brooches with looped lappets, occurring only at Barton Seagrave, Northants, and near the Watling Street, Leics. or Warwicks. (fig. 5 *b*). These last fall in with other variants which, like the Islip brooch, appear to be confined to the Midlands, though their scarcity is against certainty on this point.

It is far otherwise, however, with other variants now to be considered. The first of these has small lappets, either rectangular or hooked; the lobes are always bifid, while the foot is spade-shaped, plain crescentic or notched; the head-plate is often panelled (fig. 5 *d*). With the exception of examples from

[1] *Archaeologia*, xxxiii, pl. xiii, 2. [2] *Ibid.*, fig. 4.

[3] This foot recurs on a small square-headed brooch from North Luffenham, Rutland.

[4] I have throughout followed the differentiation so made of the two cemeteries at Barrington by Sir Cyril Fox in his *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, p. 250.

[5] This dating is confirmed by a clumsy brooch from Barrington A (Ashmolean Museum 1909, 285; Leeds, *Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, fig. 14, lower row, no. 4) with its lobes almost fused into an oval, a deeply waisted crescent-ended foot and a high pyramidal bow.

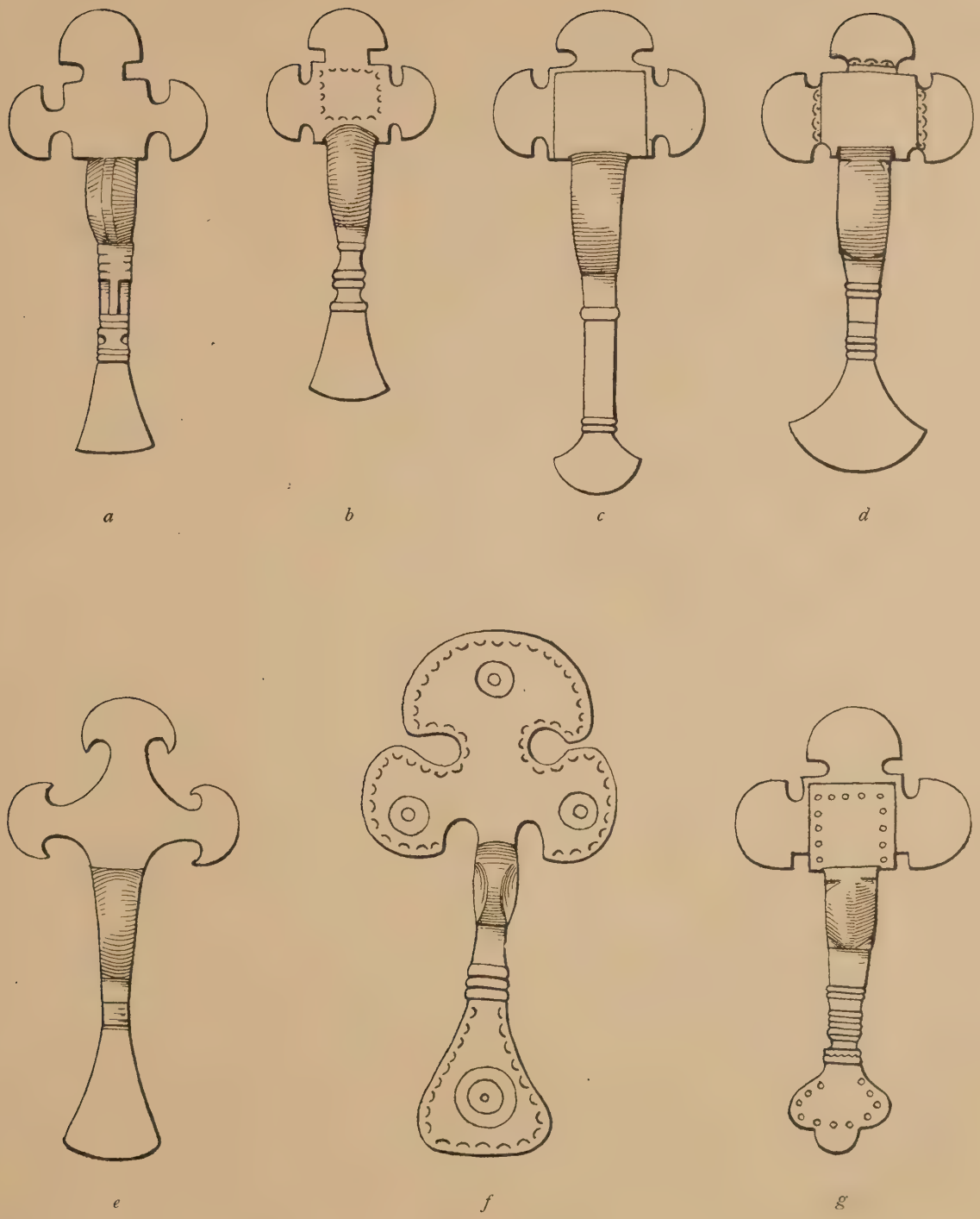


Fig. 4. Small-long brooches: trefoil-headed, classes *a–e*
(*a*) Brough, Notts; (*b*) Little Wilbraham 164, Cambs.; (*c*) Stapenhill, Staffs.; (*d*) Mildenhall, Suffolk; (*e*) Holdenby, Northants; (*f*) Marston St. Lawrence, Northants; (*g*) Haslingfield, Cambs. ($\frac{1}{1}$)

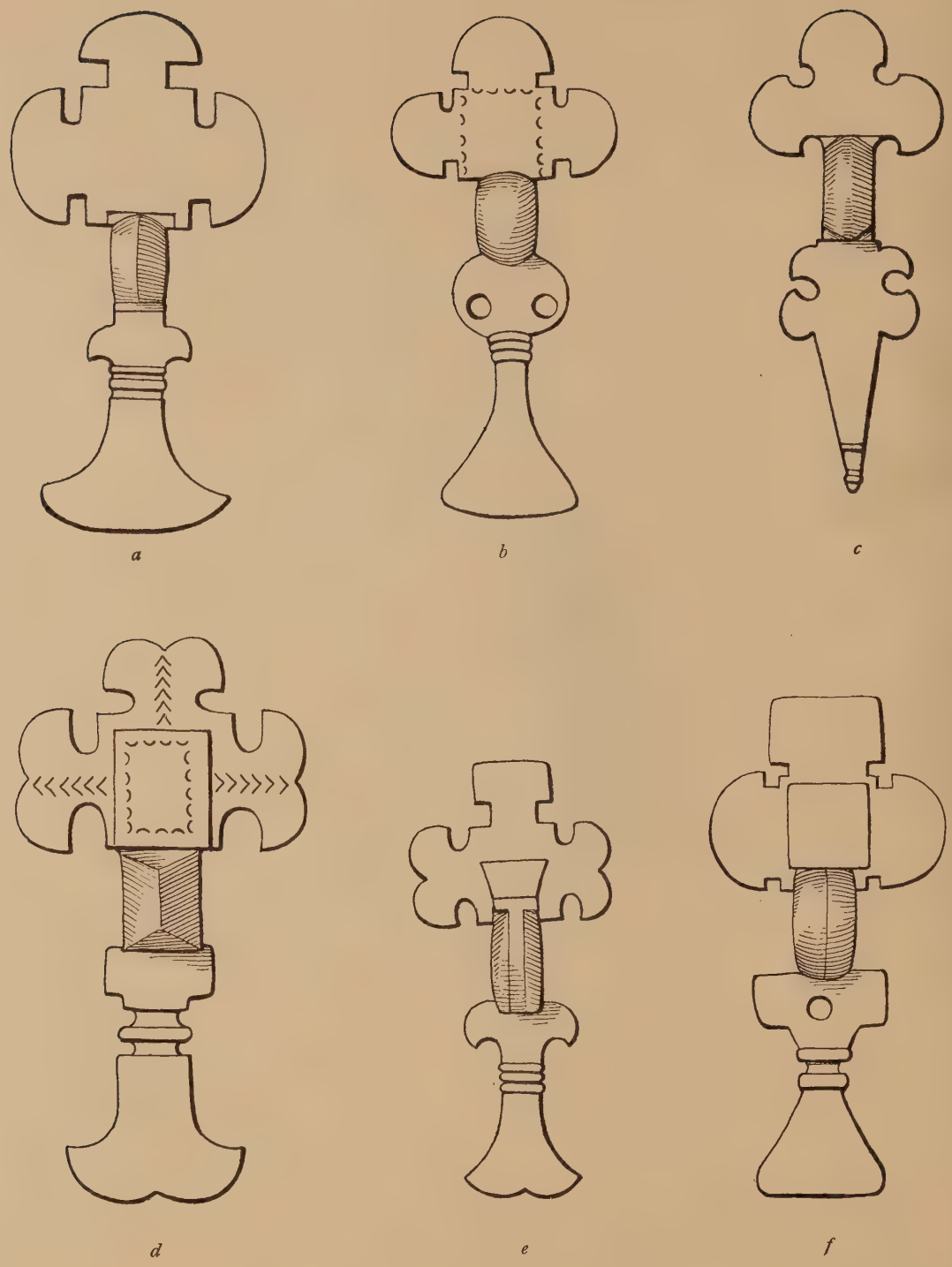


Fig. 5. Small-long brooches: trefoil-headed, classes *f–k*
(*a*) Barrington A, Cambs.; (*b*) Watling Street, Leics. or Warwicks.; (*c*) Islip, Northants; (*d*) Little Wilbraham 9, Cambs.; (*e*) Little Wilbraham 171, Cambs.; (*f*) Barrington A, Cambs. ($\frac{1}{1}$)

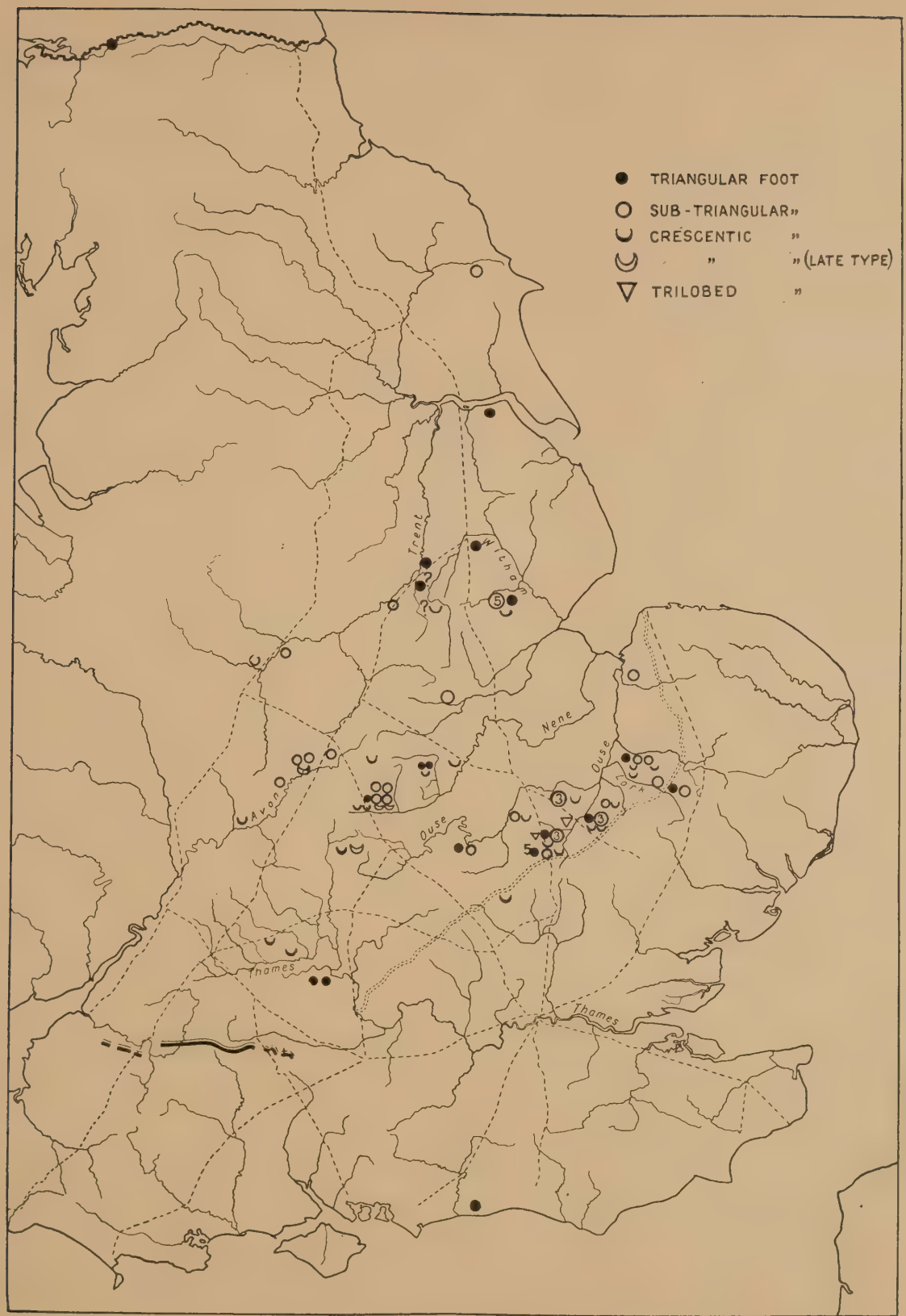


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Fig. 6. Small-long brooches: distribution of trefoil types *a–e*

(A number denotes more than one grave-find or occurrence at a site)

Kempston, Beds., Woodstone, Hunts., and Duston, Northants, they all come from Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, and many of them appear to bear the stamp of a single workshop.

Alongside the morphologically earlier variants of the last mentioned group there appears a variant which is distinctly retrograde in taste. While the normal type of rounded, lateral lobes are retained, the upper lobe on the head-plate is converted into a clumsy rectangle (fig. 5 *e*). It occurs at Little Wilbraham, Girton, and Exning. More numerous and more widely distributed are those in which the lateral lobes are notched (fig. 5 *f*). They range from Kenninghall, Norfolk, and Icklingham, Suffolk, to south Cambridgeshire, but in addition three examples are known from the mid-Anglian cemetery at Rothwell, Northants. Clearly this variety is also a speciality of the eastern counties, and as with the previous class the Rothwell outliers are the result of external contacts; we meet with Rothwell again in another connexion.

There remains to be mentioned one curious expression of the trefoil brooch; it comes from an unspecified site in the Cambridge region. It is probably late, as the lobes are notched, but the artificer has given his fancy full play and has converted each lobe into a double-headed bird (?), or animal with gaping mouth; the foot has three discoidal lobes.[1]

The general result of this survey points to a wide initial distribution among all the tribes, excluding Kent, but, though in the Midlands the type persists, it is merely as a decadent expression of the original model. In the eastern counties a spirit of invention was productive of variants which only percolated sporadically among their nearest neighbours farther west.

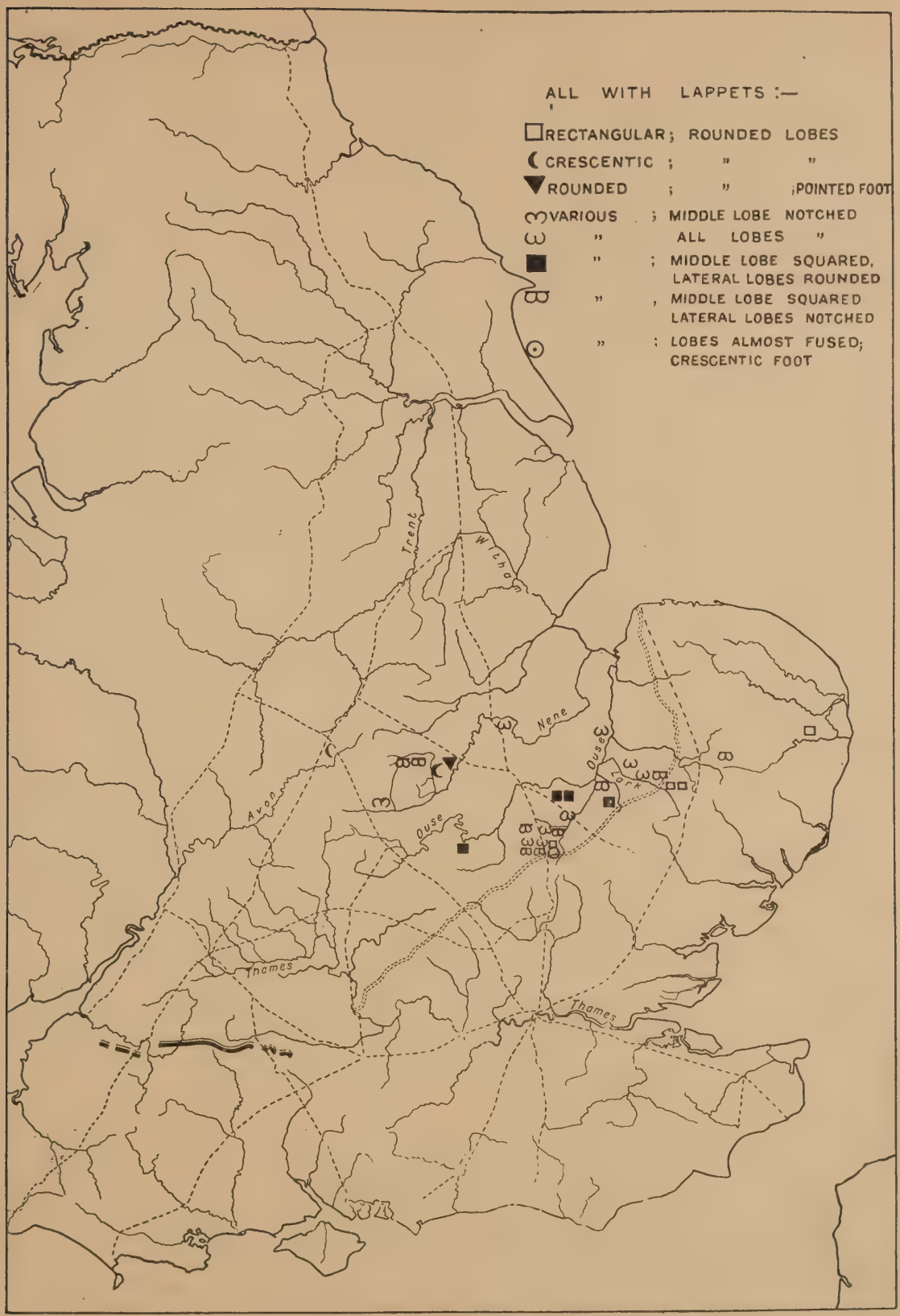
Cross potent: distribution-map (fig. 9).

This is a type for which, as noted earlier, clear evidence of an immediate continental ancestry is available. All the known continental examples have rounded angles at the junction of the arms with the body of the head-plate.

In England parallels are fairly numerous, but only a few are equally well made (fig. 8 *a*). Their occurrence so far apart as South Ferriby (Lincs.), Holme Pierrepont (Notts.), Islip (Northants), Hauxton (Cambs.), and Sarre (Kent) marks at once their wide, rather northerly distribution, indicating an Anglian origin, corresponding to their continental provenances.

The rounded angle between the arms was evidently soon replaced by stepping, at first in an almost fumbling manner, as if the artificer was reluctant to surrender the curve for a more rigid rectangularity. The process seems to have already begun by the time of the invasion, since signs of it appear on a poor specimen from Quelkhorn, Hanover,[2] but it is seen to better

[1] In the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. [2] A. Plettke, *op. cit.*, Taf. V, 9.



Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

Fig. 7. Small-long brooches: distribution of trefoil types *f–k*

advantage on brooches from Girton (Cambs.), Woodstone (Hunts.), and Tower Street, London (fig. 8 *b*), where the angle attains a bilobed or trilobed form. There are other examples found in Cambridgeshire; otherwise it is apparently only known from South Ferriby, Lincolnshire.

The regularly stepped class has a rather wider distribution, though it clearly still pivots on south Cambridgeshire. Early outliers are, however, to be met with as far west as Long Wittenham and as far north as Darlington (Durham) (fig. 8 *c*). A few, somewhat blundered or degenerate versions, still retaining the simple foot have been found in Cambridgeshire; and such is one from Fairford, Gloucestershire.

A secondary stage is represented by the substitution of a crescentic foot for the triangular shape (fig. 8 *d*). Thus altered the cross potent brooch with stepped angle is mainly confined to the eastern counties, e.g. Sporle (Norfolk), West Stow (Suffolk), and several Cambridgeshire cemeteries, with what appears to be a northerly diffusion to Woodstone and Lincolnshire.

In this class again, even more than in the case of the trefoil-headed brooches, the addition of lappets (fig. 8 *e–g*) is closely connected with south Cambridgeshire.[1] A pair from Girton (group B) has a well-constructed head and wings rather than lappets; a single piece (grave 54) has a widely splayed triangular foot, while a pair from grave 32 has crescentic feet. There are curiously elongated specimens from grave 84 at Linton Heath (Cambs.) and from grave 232 at Sleaford (Lincs.) which have the looped lappets that are added to trefoil-headed brooches from Midland sites. Lappets also appear on a brooch with rounded angles at Woodstone (Hunts.): this piece has a pointed foot similar to the finial of the lozenge-shaped foot that is associated in particular with one variety of the small square-headed group (see *infra*, p. 36).[2]

The survey (fig. 9) shows that the examples which appear to be most nearly related to continental specimens come from sites not too far inland to have been easily reached and settled by early invaders, but that they link on to the variant with stepped angle, for these belong to the eastern counties. Only a few find their way farther afield to Wessex, while the later developments belong even more particularly to south Cambridgeshire, the only outliers occurring at no great distance from the Ermine Street, that line which this and other such maps indicate must have been in constant use for communication between northern England and East Anglia.

[1] Barrington A, Cambs. (A.M. 1909. 289); Barrington B (*Cambridge Ant. Soc. Comm.*, xxxv, 144, pl. vi a). Another from Barrington A (A.M. 1909. 281) has prismatic faceting on the bow, a trait which, as already noted, may be taken to indicate an advanced date.

[2] This brooch is figured among cross pattee derivatives (fig. 14 *h*), to which group it might equally well belong, since the round notch had disappeared in the cross potent group before the introduction of lappets.

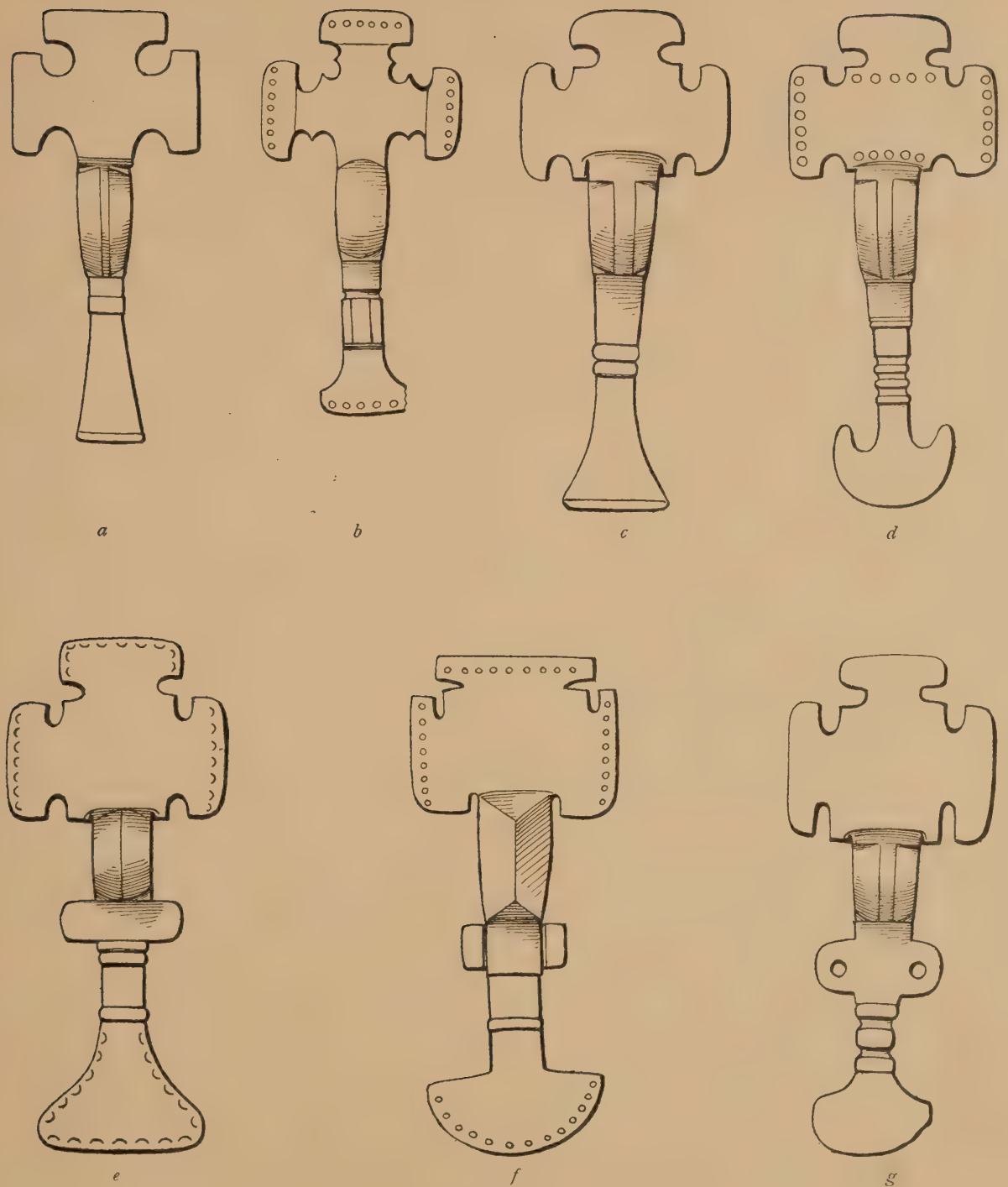


Fig. 8. Cross potent

(*a*) Sarre, Kent; (*b*) Tower Street, London; (*c*) Darlington, Durham; (*d*) Haslingfield, Cambs.; (*e-f*) Little Wilbraham, Cambs., graves 54 and 32; (*g*) Sleaford, Lincs., grave 252 (¼)

Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

Fig. 9. Distribution of cross potent type
(? against a sign indicates an uncertain site in the county)

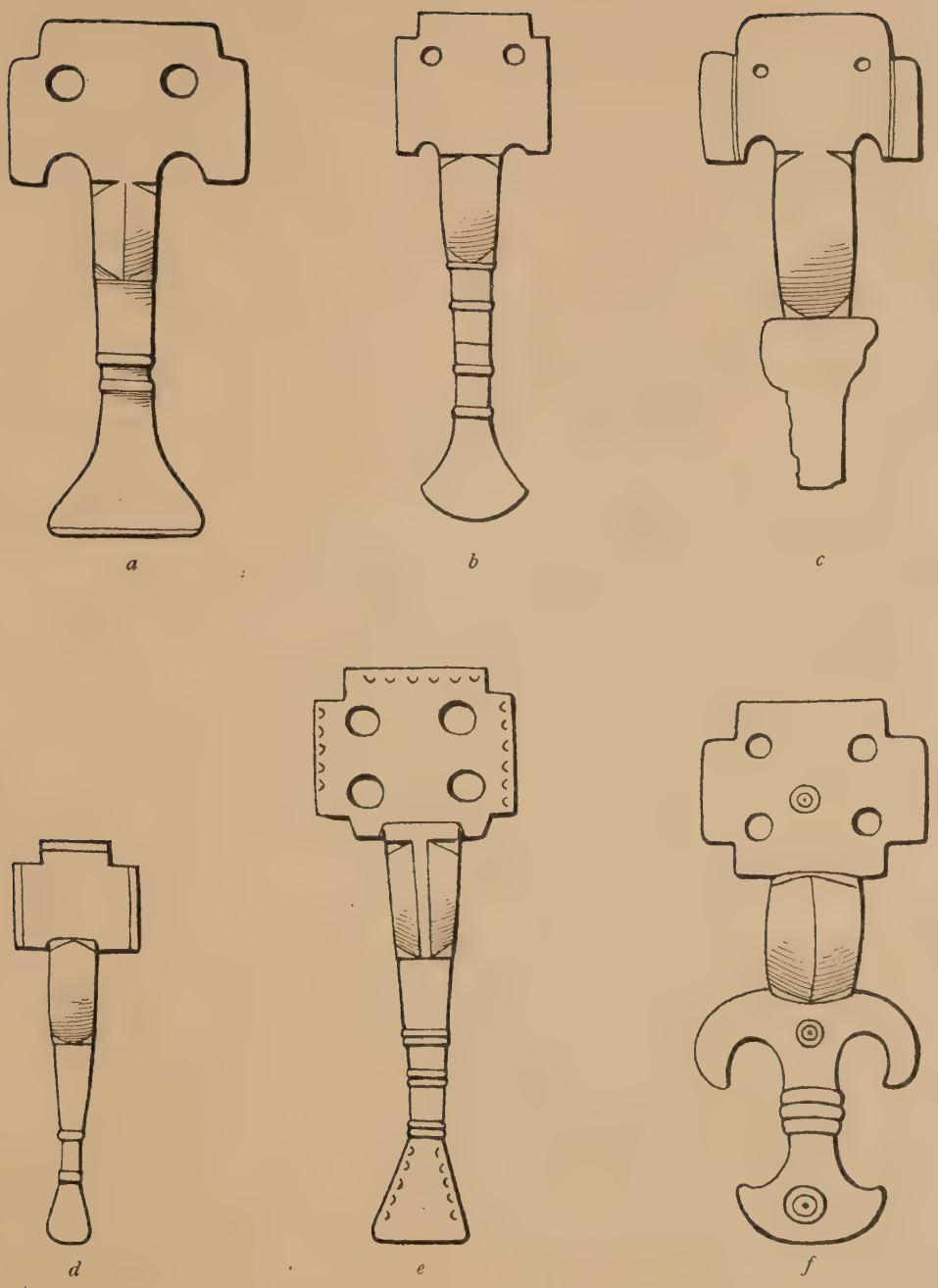


Fig. 10. Small-long brooches: cross potent derivatives

(*a*) Rothwell, Northants; (*b*) Haslingfield, Cambs.; (*c*) Little Wilbraham, 182, Cambs.; (*d*) Holywell Row, Suffolk; (*e*) Rothwell, Northants; (*f*) Little Wilbraham, 79, Cambs. ($\frac{1}{1}$)

Cross potent: derivatives: distribution-map (fig. 12).

Under this heading are grouped certain varieties of the small-long brooch, that morphologically betray their descent from or indebtedness to the cross potent type. This relationship declares itself in so many ways that it becomes

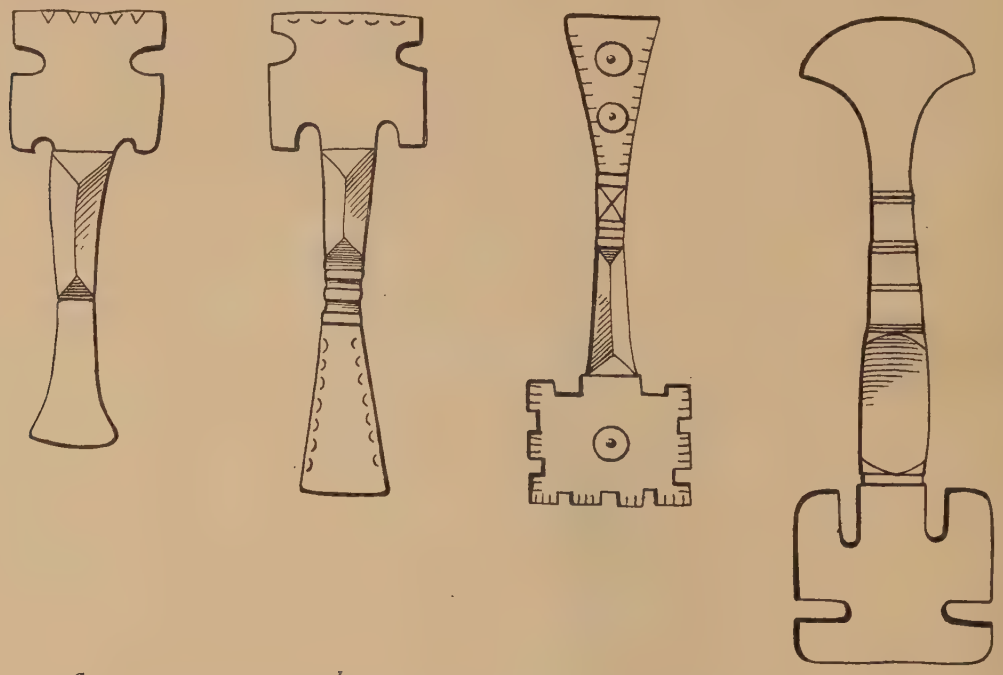


Fig. 11. Small-long brooches: cross potent derivatives, group *c*
(*a*) Little Wilbraham, 89, Cambs.; (*b*) Long Wittenham, Berks.; (*c*) Fairford, Gloucs.; (*d*) Kempston, Beds. ($\frac{1}{4}$)

a task of some difficulty to sort them out and to say which, if any, of the simpler manifestations is contemporaneous with or precedent to another, or indeed to decide in what order brooches assigned to one class should be placed. Their dependence on the cross potent is usually too obvious to require explanation, but in one case it only becomes clear when they are placed in their correct evolutionary sequence.

(*a*) *Rebated upper corners, two perforations, and basal notches* (fig. 10 *a–d*).[1] This variant had already emerged in north Germany, as shown by imperfect examples from Borgstedt, Schleswig, and Perlberg, Hanover (fig. 1), and thus in its purer form must be considered early. Such with triangular foot are fine examples from near Cambridge, Haslingfield and Linton Heath, Cambs., and

[1] An example of this group (variant marked ◘ on the distribution-map (fig. 12)) occurred at Hoogebeintum, Friesland (see my *Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, fig. 18); it is most probably an export from England.

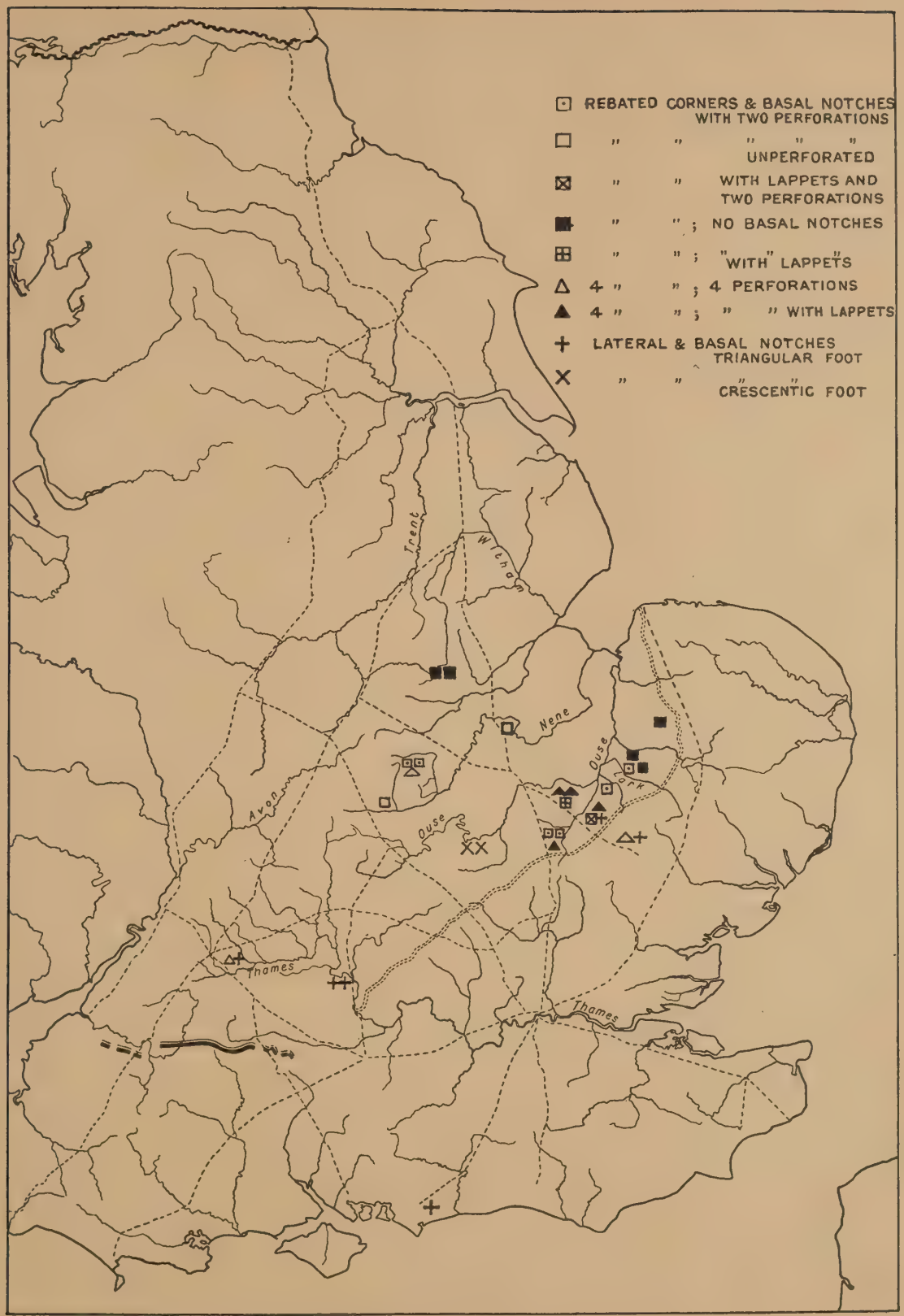


Fig. 12. Small-long brooches: distribution of cross potent derivatives

from Rothwell, Northants, close to the Roman road from Godmanchester to Leicester. Examples with rounded foot come from Haslingfield and from Holywell Row, Suffolk; with lappets from Little Wilbraham (grave 182): an unperforated specimen with hammer-head foot from Woodstone, Hunts.

(*b*) *Four rebated corners and four perforations*, a rare variety (fig. 10*e–f*). The earliest example must be one from Rothwell with triangular foot: later pieces are one from Linton Heath (grave 40) with crescentic foot, associated with a florid cruciform brooch (Åberg's class V), and an imperfect brooch from Fairford. From these derives the curious variant with downwardly curved lappets and markedly crescentic foot (fig. 10*f*).

(*c*) *Square-topped, with lateral upper notches and basal notches* (fig. 11). Except for two pairs with crescentic feet from Kempston, Beds., this type invariably has a long triangular foot. Examples from Little Wilbraham, Long Wittenham, and Fairford have elongated prismatic faceting on the bow.

In distribution the first two varieties, *a* and *b*, are essentially south Cambridgeshire products, the second being peculiar to that area. When, however, we come to the third, the matter is less easy to decide. Two specimens with triangular foot from Little Wilbraham, one imperfect brooch from Linton Heath, and the two pairs from Kempston represent the eastern Midlands: the remainder come from Wessex and Sussex, and all these have triangular feet. In view of the prismatic faceting of the bow, it may be that the triangular foot is not here a criterion of date. Only the Kempston brooches show normal faceting, in which case the variety as a whole may have had a mid-Anglian origin, spreading east and west (fig. 12).

Cross pattee and derivatives (distribution-map, fig. 17).

(*a*) *Cross pattee.* This name has been used to describe small long-brooches in the past, but more as a nomenclature of convenience than one wholly justified by details of form. Heraldically it designates a square cross with triangular arms, the apices meeting and coalescing at the middle, and in that respect it is not sadly misused when applied to such a piece as that from Borgstedt, Schleswig[1] (fig. 2*a*), which may be taken as a forerunner of the English series. The feature in which it differs from the description is the presence of a round notch at the apex of the slit between the arms. It is the presence of these notches which in one form or another allow several of the later developments to be differentiated from the cross potent brooch and its derivatives. One continental example can be cited, namely a small brooch from Gullbringa, Bohüslan, Sweden,[2] which illustrates one of these developments (fig. 2 *b*); four perforations take the place

[1] A. Plettke, *op. cit.*, p. 15, pl. v, 11.

[2] O. Montelius, *Remains of the Iron Age from Scandinavia*, pl. 5, fig. 6.

of the notches and the angle between the arms has been closed up, an engraved line from each corner to the perforation testifying to its former existence.

In England the brooch has advanced some distance along the same path, the slit where it occurs being reduced to a minimum: possibly a pair from

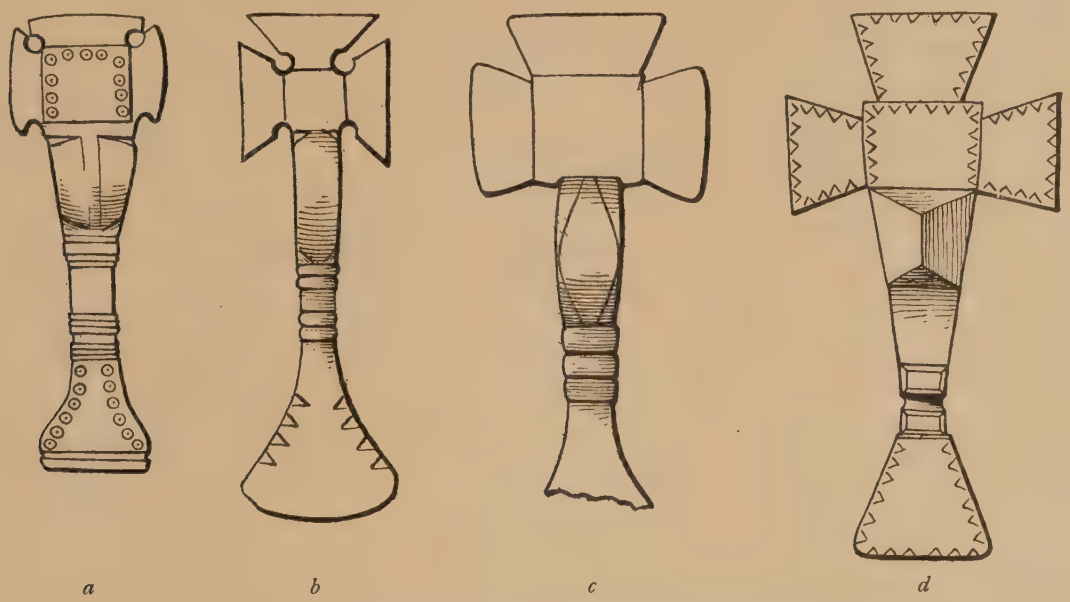


Fig. 13. Small-long brooches: cross pattee and cross pattee derivatives, groups *a–b*
(*a*) Wallingford, Berks.; (*b*) Linton Heath, 94, Cambs.; (*c*) Haslingfield, Cambs.;
(*d*) North Luffenham, Rutland

Barrington B and one from Linton Heath (grave 84) (fig. 13 *b*), being the sole claimants to possession of the slit and notch intact. There are others, however, as well made in other respects, but which have the notch closed up and remains of the angle between the arms. This group is neatly made and of modest size, and nearly all have a raised panel in the middle of the head-plate. But such pieces are rare, known only from south Cambridgeshire and from Wallingford, Berks., grave 11 (fig. 13 *a*), in the latter case as a pair to another which has all the appearances of having been made to replace a loss. The latter is clumsy in its proportions, has no panel, but in proof of the tenacity of folk-memory has two false perforations in the lower part of the head-plate. These have disappeared in the others. Four brooches from Baginton, Warwicks., exhibit other signs of deterioration along the same lines, one having no upper perforations, but two false ones below (fig. 14 *d*), another having the panel suggested by a frame of circlets. The discovery of the better piece at Wallingford is one more link in the chain of early intercourse between the Cambridge region and Wessex.

From this main group there are several derivatives.

(*b*) '*Military Cross*' *form of head-plate with panelled middle* (fig. 13 *c–d*). Typologically this should not be a late development, since it retains the angled arms and the panel, only the notches being omitted, but the associations seem to point otherwise.[1] It too is a rare type. I have only been able to list four occurrences, two in Cambridgeshire, one in Rutland, and one in Lincolnshire. Of these one from Cambridge (St. John's Cricket Ground) was associated with a late cruciform brooch of Åberg's Group IV; another from Sleaford (grave 32) was found with a brooch of group *e* (ii) below.

(*c*) *Cross pattee formee.* I have adopted this title to designate a group of brooches which in some cases seem to be undoubtedly connected with the main type, while in others they resemble some of the derivatives of the cross potent class. Their main feature, a curved angle between the arms, is that which has led heralds to create the term here used. The group as a whole is probably not necessarily late; one example from Haslingfield, Cambs., at least has faceted surfaces on the bow and the foot neatly executed as on the earlier cruciform brooches (fig. 14 *a*), another is one of the rare examples of Anglo-Saxon (contrasted with Kentish) brooches from Bifrons, Kent; yet another was found with a cremated burial at South Ferriby, Lincolnshire. A general date is afforded by the unusual example from Alveston (fig. 14 *g*), on which a normal triangular foot is replaced by a rather clumsy animal head like that of cruciform brooches of the mid-sixth century. But the type probably survived somewhat longer, since the Warwickshire cemeteries of Baginton and Bidford-on-Avon have yielded other inferior reproductions with the normal foot, while a pair from Upton Snodsbury, Worcs. (fig. 14 *i*), the most westerly point of their distribution, have been furnished with wings or lappets below the bow; the foot of both specimens is wanting. Their main distribution on and north of a line lies between Cambridgeshire and Worcestershire; no example is known from Wessex.

(*d*) *Square head-plate without slits.*

(i) *With four perforations* (fig. 15 *a–b*). One from Bifrons, Kent, betrays its ancestry by short pairs of diagonal lines running from the corners to four perforations; others merely retain the perforations, an example from Holywell Row (grave 53) having an engraved frame-line. Their distribution ranges from Yorkshire to Kent, but does not extend west of Saxby, Leicestershire.

(ii) *With two perforations.* Only two examples have been listed, one from Cambridgeshire, the other the most extreme south-westerly occurrence as yet recorded of any of the non-Kentish small-long brooches; it comes from Hardown, Morecombelake, Dorset, and, it should be noted, has a pyramidally faceted bow.[2]

[1] See Appendix II.

[2] Certain brooches which possibly have some claim typologically to be included in this group

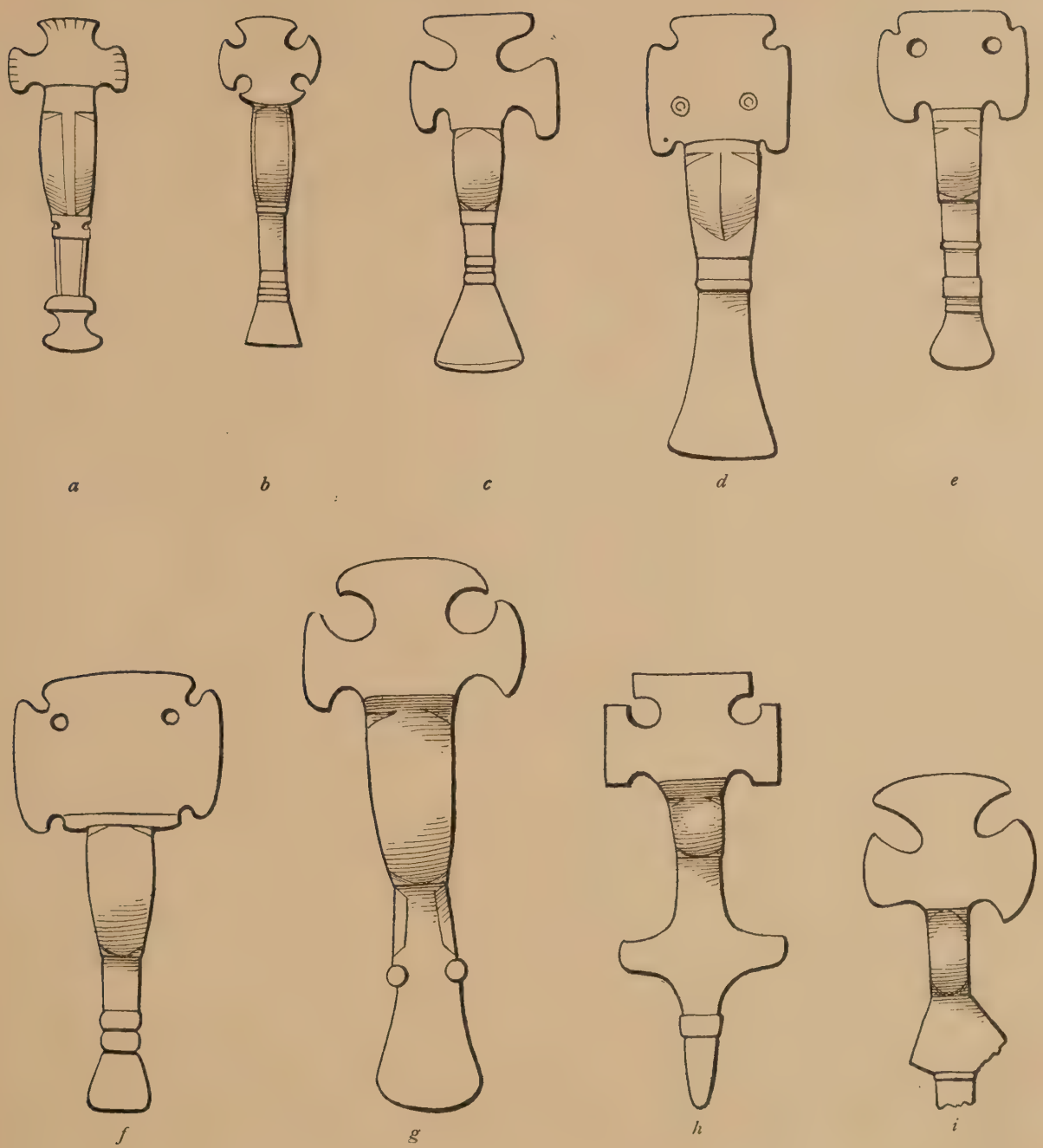


Fig. 14. Small-long brooches: cross pattee derivatives, group *c*

(*a*) Haslingfield, Cambs.; (*b*) Barrington B, Cambs.; (*c*) Rothwell, Northants; (*d–f*) Baginton, Warwicks.; (*g*) Alveston, Warwicks.; (*h*) Woodstone, Hunts.; (*i*) Upton Snodsbury, Worcs. ($\frac{1}{1}$)

(*e*) *Square-topped head-plate with basal notches.*

(i) *With two perforations* (fig. 15 *c–e*). Here again their ancestry is established by a pair of brooches from Mitcham, Surrey, on which pairs of engraved diagonal lines represent the slits in the prototype. Normally only the perforations are preserved. This variant occurs in several Cambridgeshire cemeteries, at Sleaford (6 examples), with others in Yorkshire, Suffolk, and at Baginton, Warwickshire.[1]

(ii) *With perforations eliminated* (fig. 16 *a–c*). They are not numerous, and appear most often in the Kesteven division of Lincolnshire (Sleaford and Carlton Scroop) and in mid-Anglia; odd examples from Haslingfield, Cambs., and Broughton Poggs, Oxon., give the east-west range of their occurrence.

(iii) *With lappets with or without perforations* (fig. 16 *d*). Both variants are rare; the former occurring in south Cambridgeshire and at Sleaford; the latter in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. The unperforated type of head-plate is also associated with an advanced stage of the lozenge-shaped foot (see p. 36) at Mitcham, Surrey. I have scheduled it here.

Square-head (*plain*): distribution-map (fig. 19).

This, as might be expected, is one of the commoner forms of the small-long brooch, and, if allowance be made for all the shades of difference that may occur in so simple a type, the class as a whole may be said to be based on two varieties. The one has, as a rule, a perfectly rectangular head-plate, although the corners may be rounded off (fig. 18 *a–e*): in the other the head-plate is trapezoidal in form with the narrower width nearest to the bow, and the sides of the plate may be concave, even in apparently early specimens, tending to become oftener and more appreciably so as time goes on (fig. 18 *f–j*). This class, like all the rest, adopts the crescentic foot, but unlike others it is very seldom found with regular lappets below the bow. In its initial stages it must be regarded as one of the early types, as it might well be expected to be. It is one of the few types that occur in southern cemeteries, like High Down, Sussex, but even so very rarely. Nevertheless, although it is found from Norfolk to Sussex and from Norfolk to Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, and though allowance be made for the pitfalls of differentiation, its distribution presents distinct points of interest (fig. 19). It appears not to have been recorded north of Sleaford, Lincs., where

I have scheduled with the main class of square-headed brooches (see p. 30), where the matter is discussed.

[1] For what must I think be a parallel development in Norway see H. Shetelig, *Vestlandske Grave fra Jernalderen*, fig. 316 (here fig. 2 *c*).

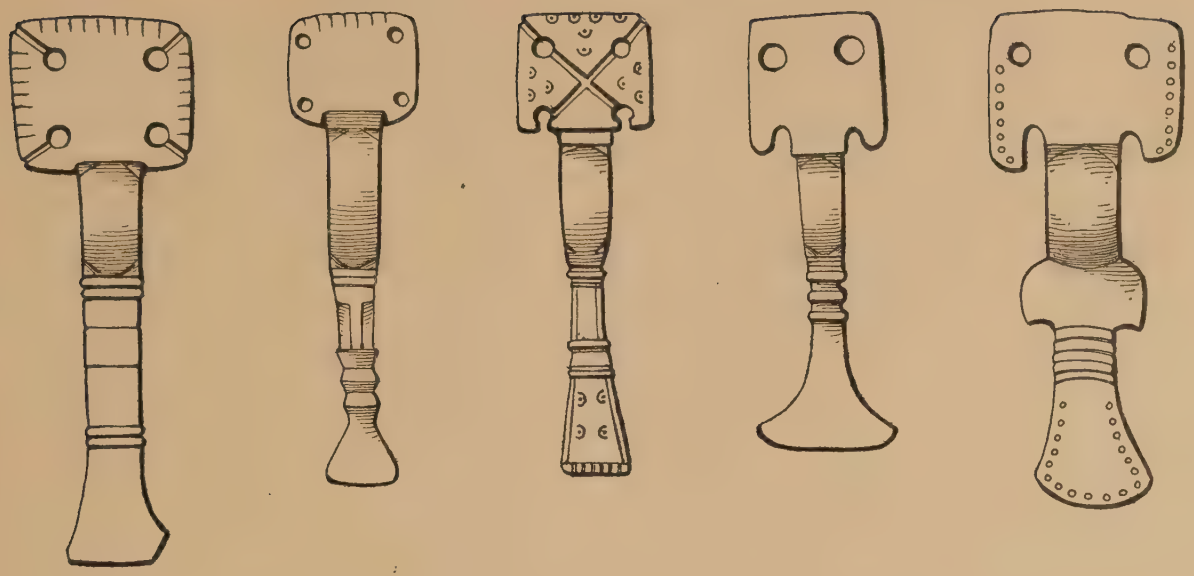


Fig. 15. Small-long brooches: cross pattee derivatives, groups *d*–*e* (i)
(*a*) Bifrons, Kent; (*b*) Haslingfield, Cambs.; (*c*) Mitcham, Surrey; (*d*) Holywell Row, 39, Suffolk; (*e*) Little Wilbraham, 173, Cambs. (1/1)

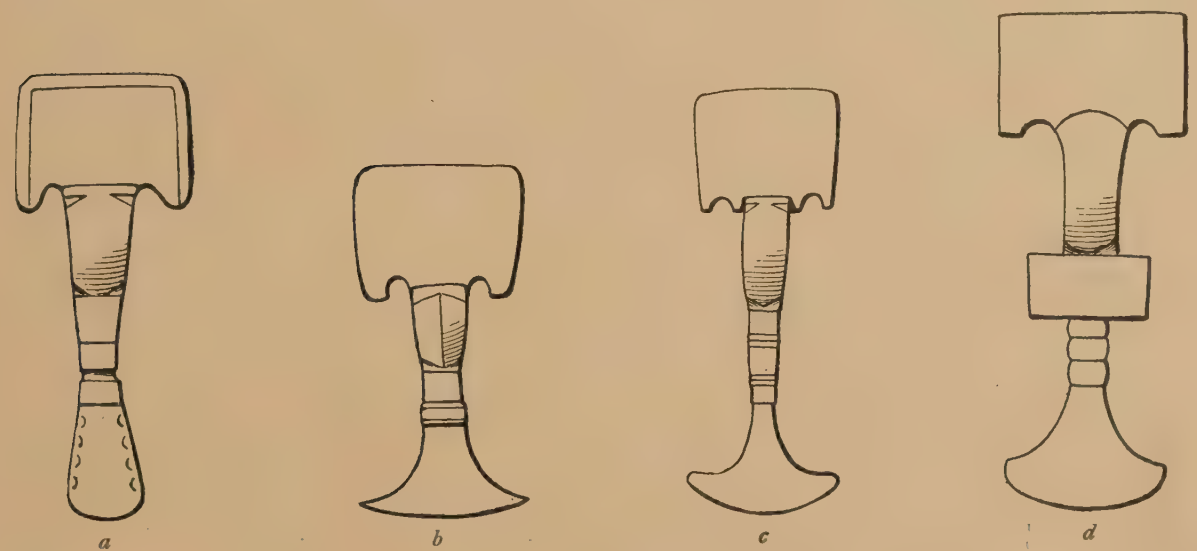


Fig. 16. Small-long brooches: cross pattee derivatives, group *e* (ii and iii)
(*a*) Broughton Poggs, Oxon.; (*b*) Baginton, Warwicks.; (*c*) Holdenby, Northants; (*d*) Woodstone, Hunts. (1/1)

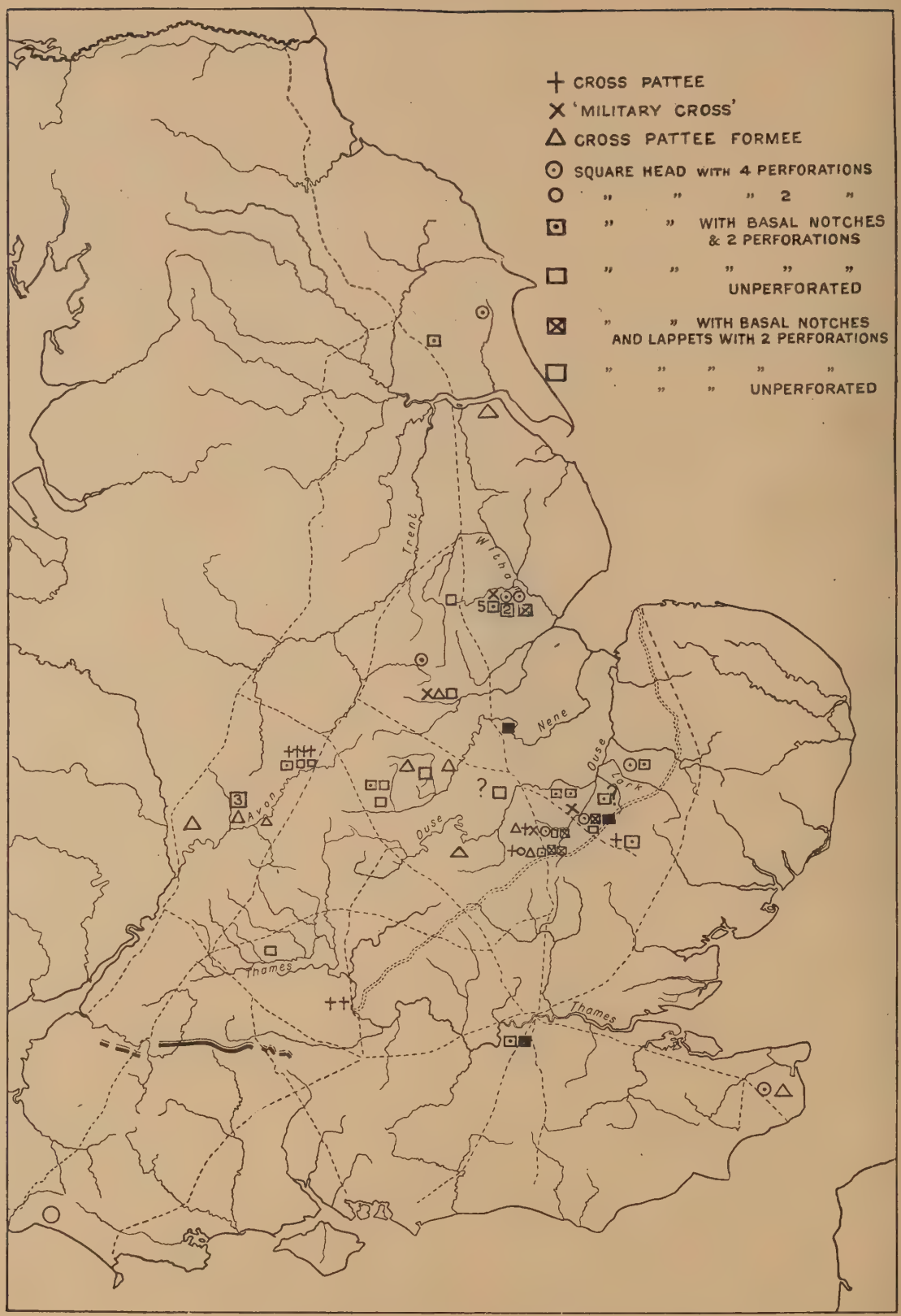


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Fig. 17. Small-long brooches: distribution of cross pattee type and derivatives
(Number against sign indicates more than one grave-find or occurrence at the site; ? against sign an uncertain site in the county)

Fig. 18. Small-long brooches: square-head (plain) type
(*a* and *f*) Haslingfield, Cambs.; (*b*) Long Wittenham, Berks.; (*c*) Kempston, Beds.; (*d*) East Shefford, Berks.; (*e* and *j*) Barrington A, Cambs.; (*g*) Little Wilbraham, 143, Cambs.; (*h*) Rothwell, Northants; (*i*) Watling Street, Leics. or Warwicks. ($\frac{1}{1}$)

there are about half-a-dozen specimens, some of them early,[1] but otherwise the early examples come principally from cemeteries near Cambridge (Barrington, Haslingfield, Girton, and Little Wilbraham), more sporadically in the Lark valley, where the short variety is particularly noticeable, and elsewhere from the northern Midlands, with some from Kempston, Beds.

On the other hand, specimens with the crescentic foot are especially prevalent in the Midlands, where the short form with heavy head-plate is perhaps the commonest type of the small-long brooch, for example in mid-Northamptonshire and in Warwickshire.

In Wessex only one, from Long Wittenham, grave 63, has an early look: it was associated with a brooch of the derived cross potent class. Otherwise examples from this region are either moderately early with poorly shaped foot or are later pieces which look like loans from the Midlands farther north.

In stating that the type rarely seems to have fallen a victim to the embellishments which one finds in almost all other types, there are exceptions, but they as usual prove the rule rather than otherwise. There are plain bronze brooches from Kenninghall, Norfolk, with rectangular lappets and hammer-head foot, but their size places them outside the category of 'small-long'. They stand half-way between the small-long and the large, ornate square-headed brooches. If they be excluded, the normal size with lappets is represented by only four occurrences, one in Cambridgeshire,[2] two in mid-Anglia, and one in Wessex. This is a very small proportion, and indeed there is one consideration which suggests that typologically they may have no connexion with the simple square-headed type, but represent the final gasp of the cross pattee brooch, among the developments of which there have been grouped square-headed brooches with four or two perforations. For included in the simple square-headed class are several brooches decorated with engraved circlets. Where these are four in number, their parallelism to the four perforations of the cross pattee derivative is obvious; it is where the number of circlets is three or five that they seem to explain themselves as mere ornament. And yet the brooch from Holywell Row, grave 53[3] (cross-pattee, type *d*) has in addition to its four perforations a decorative bull's-eye circlet at the middle. In this respect it may be closely compared with

[1] The late Mr. Reginald Smith, who did so much for the promotion of Anglo-Saxon studies, mentions two square-headed brooches found in an urn at Robin Hood's Bay (*V.C.H. Yorks.*, ii, 93) as being in the Pickering Museum. The Mitchelson collection to which they apparently belonged was acquired by the Yorkshire Museum at York, but Dr. Collinge informs me that the brooches are not in that museum. It is of course not entirely certain whether they belonged to this or to some other class. A letter of inquiry to Mr. Smith reached him too late to elicit a reply.

[2] Barrington (Ashmolean Museum, 1909, 302); cp. the exotic example noticed among the trefoil-headed class (p. 10). There is a similar imperfect brooch from Sarre, Kent, in Maidstone Museum.

[3] Lethbridge, p. 30, pl. xvii, B 1.

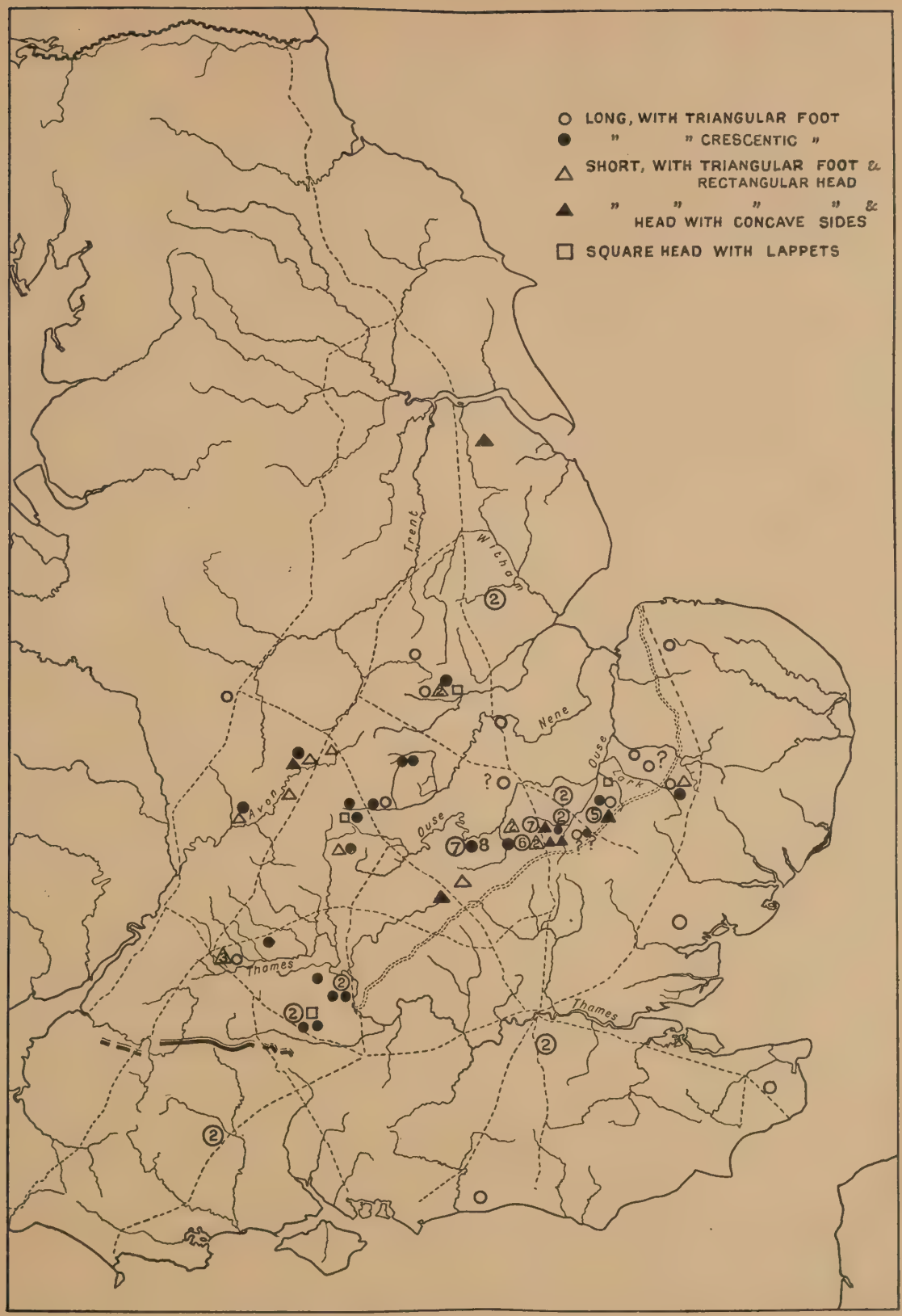

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Fig. 19. Small-long brooches: distribution-map of square-head (plain) type
(A number denotes more than one grave-find or occurrence at a site ; ? against a sign indicates uncertainty about exact locality in a county)

the brooch from Badby, Northants[1] (here included in the square-headed category), the only difference being that it has spots instead of perforations and in addition lappets. Possibly then the circlet decoration comes through the cross pattee type, and square-headed brooches so decorated should be grouped with that type, and possibly too, on the three remaining specimens with lappets listed in the catalogue, the circlets have been omitted. It is a small point of typology, and does not seriously affect the question of distribution one way or another. If it has any justification, this lies in the fact that in large groups of square-headed brooches, some of them of a late complexion, like those from Baginton and Alveston, no lappets are known. I have, in the schedules both of the cross-pattee and square-headed classes, designated with a † the brooches decorated with circlets, for reference in the event of the point recurring in some other connexion.[2]

Square-head (*panelled*): distribution-map (fig. 21).

The type is unquestionably a derivative of the cruciform brooch, a simple, less expensive version omitting the knobs and the animal-head on the foot, and as such one might expect it to be widely distributed, but that seems not to be the case. Indeed it does not range over anything approaching the area of the cruciform brooch proper. A distinction, possibly somewhat arbitrary, can be drawn between brooches with a full panel of the same height as the head-plate (fig. 20 *a* and *f*) and those with a half-panel in the lower part of the head-plate (fig. 20 *b* and *e*).

There is little to choose in the matter of precedence, for alike in the full-panelled brooches, as on one from Kempston, Beds.,[3] and a half-panelled example from Saxby, Leics.,[4] the bow has a median groove, such as is found on Norwegian brooches of the fifth and early sixth centuries.

These panelled brooches occur mainly in north Suffolk and in cemeteries near Cambridge, examples from Kempston, Saxby, and Sleaford being outliers (fig. 21). False panels, i.e. merely indicated by two vertical lines of punched dots (fig. 20 *c–d*), occur at Icklingham, Suffolk, and Caythorpe, Lincs., the latter with a hammer-ended foot, a rare feature (cp. one of the cross potent (derivative) type from Woodstone, Hunts., *supra*, p. 22).

When lappets are introduced (fig. 20 *e–f*), distribution is confined to Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, and the same is virtually true of two curious developments, the one where round excrescences are added to the upper corners of the

[1] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, i, 61, fig.

[2] See also small-long brooches (non-Kentish) from Kent (p. 40; fig. 25).

[3] G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, iii, pl. xlii, 4.

[4] Midland Railway Institute, Derby. Since this went to press I have learnt that the Saxby finds have been transferred to the Museum at Stoke-on-Trent.

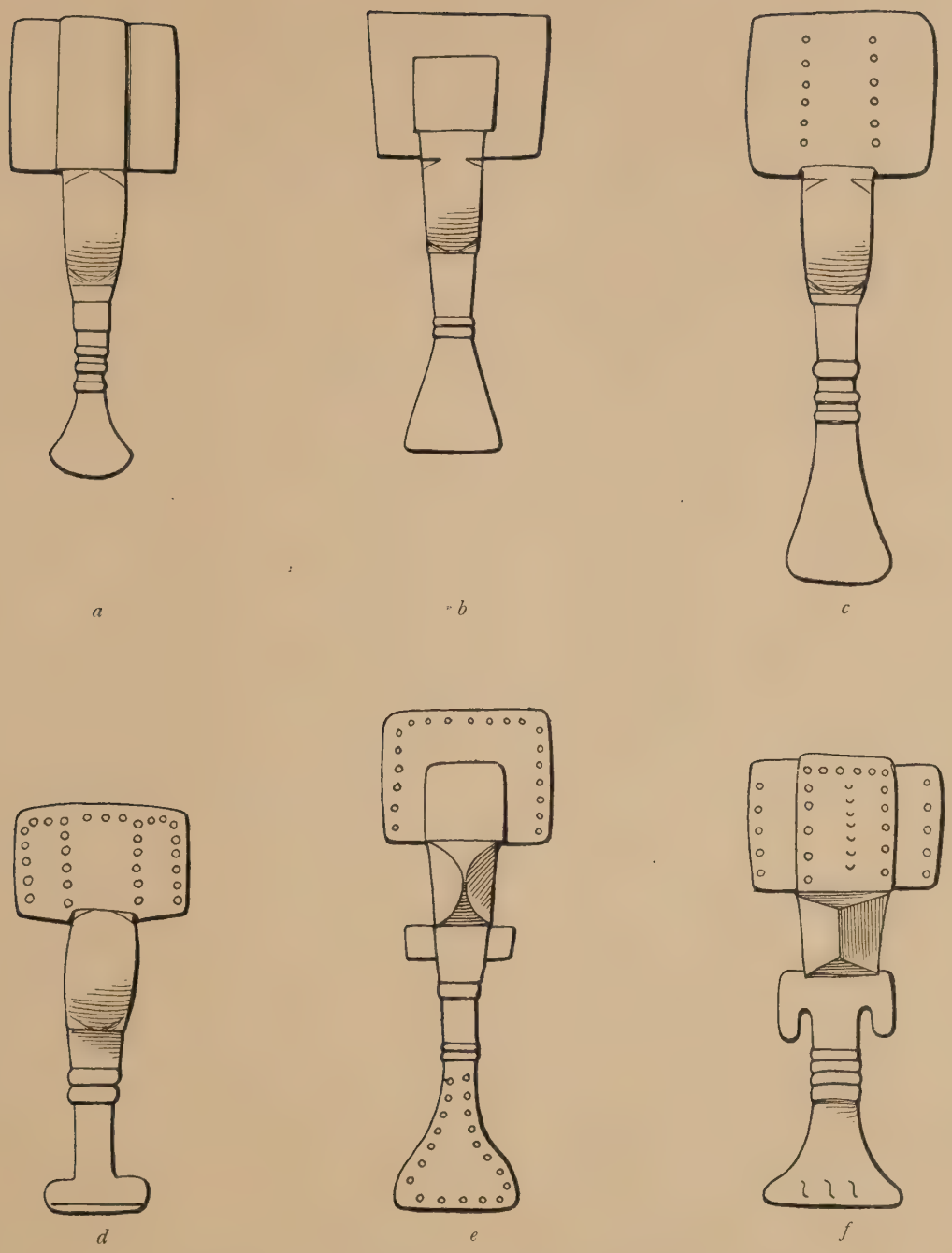

Fig. 20. Small-long brooches: square-head (panelled) type
(*a*) Holywell Row, 79, Suffolk; (*b* and *c*) Mitchell's Hill, 4 and 17, Icklingham, Suffolk; (*d*) Caythorpe, Lincs.; (*e* and *f*) Little Wilbraham, 9 and 33, Cambs. ($\frac{1}{1}$)

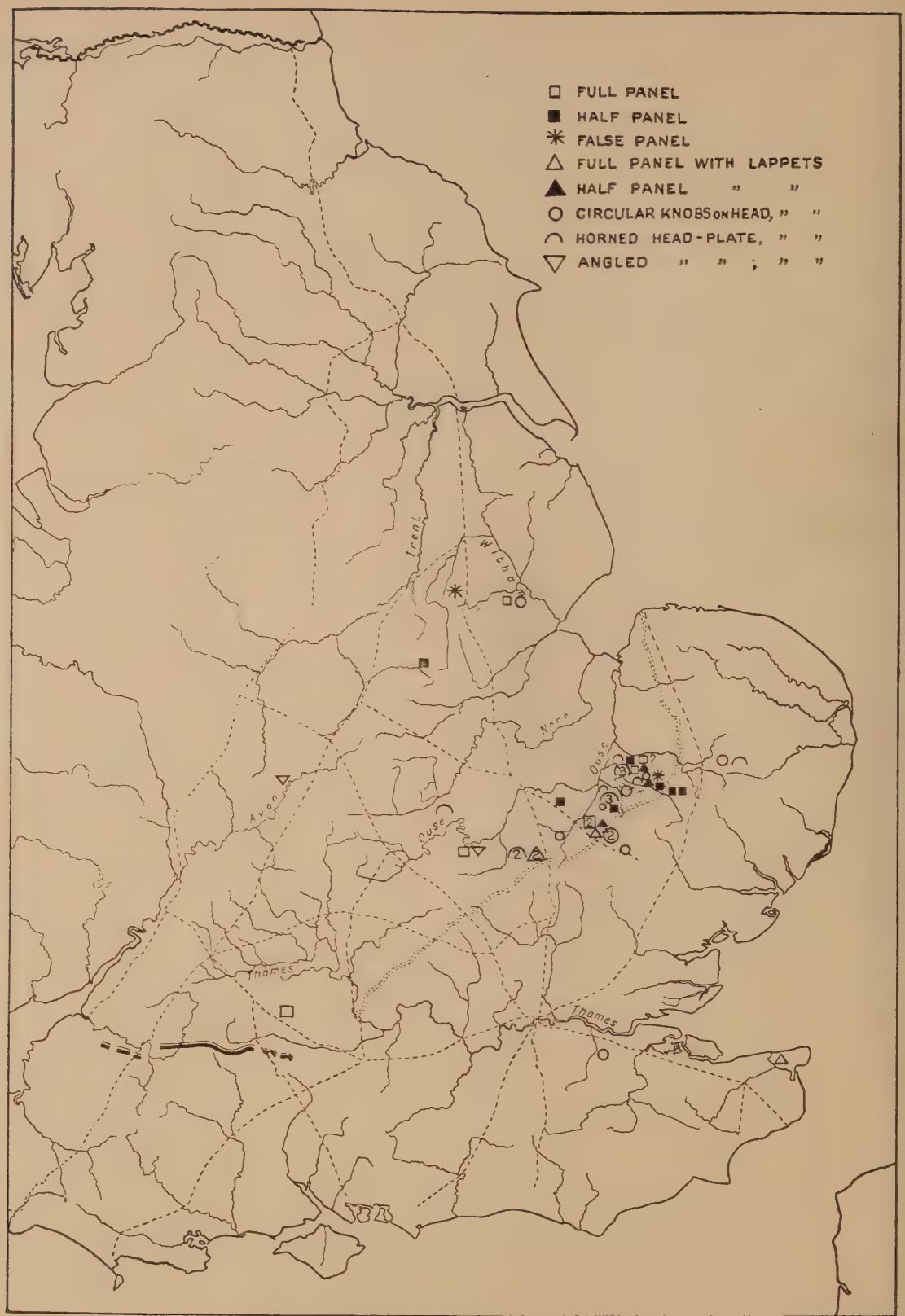

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Fig. 21. Small-long brooches: distribution-map of square-head (panelled) type
(A number denotes more than one grave-find or occurrence at a site; ? against a sign indicates uncertainty about exact locality in a county)

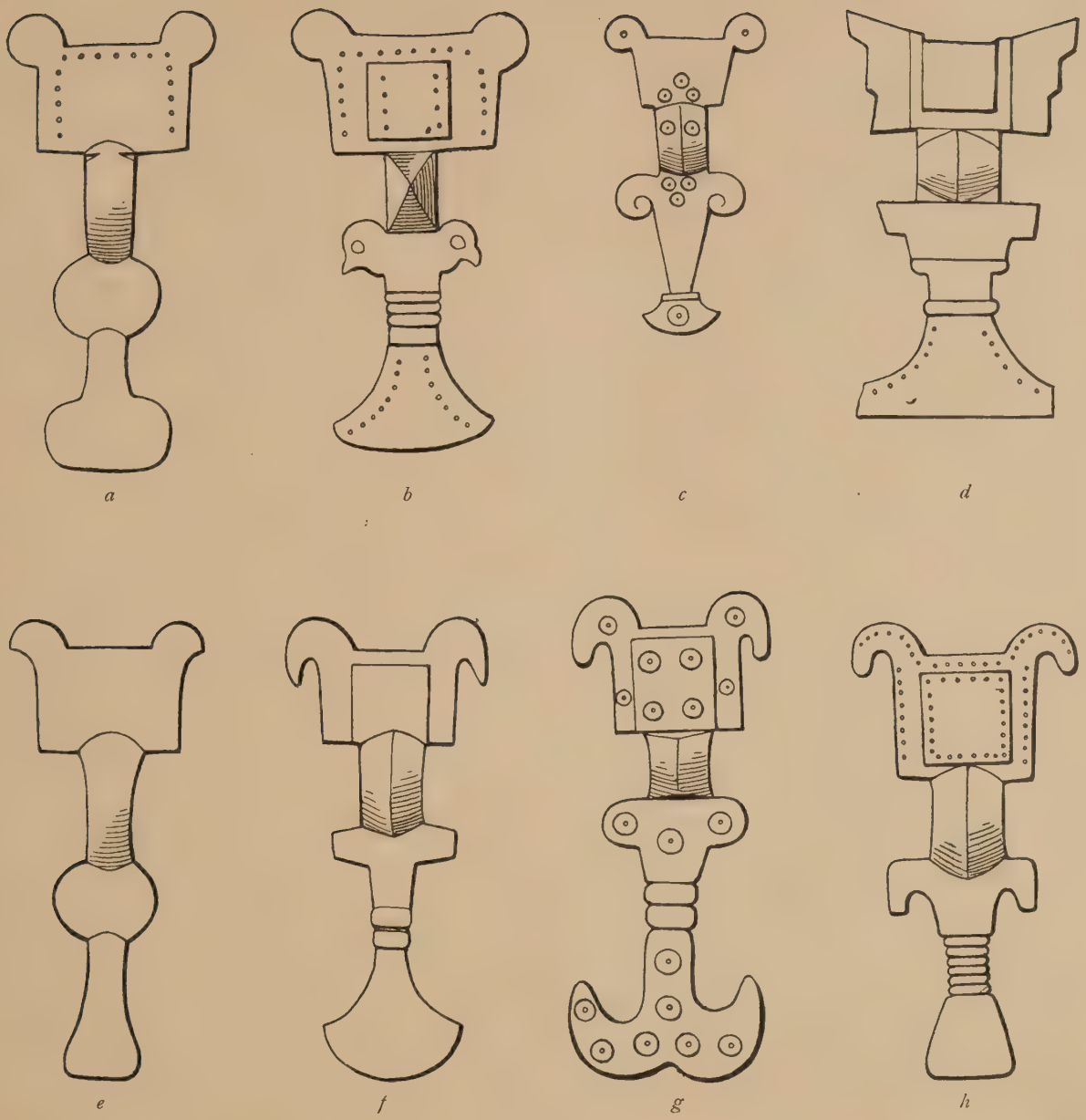

Fig. 22. Small-long brooches: square-head (panelled) type
(i) With round excrescences: (*a*) Kenninghall, Norfolk; (*b*) Sleaford, 163, Lincs; (*c*) Horton Kirby, Kent;
(ii) with hooks: (*e*, *g*, and *h*) Holywell Row, 13, 37, and 79, Suffolk; (*f*) Barrington B, Cambs.;
(iii) angled: (*d*) Kempston, Beds.

head-plate (fig. 22 *a–c*),[1] and the other with hooks in the same position (fig. 22 *e–h*). The only exceptions are a pair of the former type from Sleaford, grave 143, and of the latter from Farndish, Beds.[2] To judge from their frequency, their invention must be credited to north Suffolk. We may here note in passing one false-panelled adaptation of the former type of head-plate on a large square-headed brooch with drooping animal-heads and three round lobes on the foot from Little Wilbraham (grave 111), Cambs.[3]

The type with hooked head-plate has apparently a longer time-range since its foot varies from something fairly simple with unassertive hooks, as at Holywell Row, Suffolk (grave 13), through one with splayed foot, as at Barrington B, until the hooks even displace the simpler lappets, or the crescentic foot is notched as on the late trefoil-headed brooches.

The curiously angled type of head-plate (fig. 22 *d*), almost Chinese in conception, from Kempston[4] is so far unique, unless we accept as an indifferent rival another brooch from Emscote, Warwicks.[5]

Brooches with lozenge foot: distribution-map (fig. 24).

Among the brooches from Borgstedt, Schleswig, is one the head-plate of which has already been made familiar among the derivatives of the cross potent type, with rebated upper corners, two perforations and basal notches, but it is furnished with a lozenge-shaped foot with slightly concave sides, in pairs of unequal length, terminating in a small moulded finial (fig. 3 *b*).[6] In England this foot is associated with several types of head-plate, but in all or almost all these combinations there are to be found instances of the retention of the moulded finial, even though in a meagre, barely reminiscent guise. Many specimens lack it; it can reasonably be regarded as a mark of early or comparatively early date, as also its wide distribution suggests. When additions appear they are restricted to brooches with square heads. In examining this group it has seemed best to treat the specimens according to the form of the head-plate.

(*a*) *With square head* (fig. 23 *a–f*). Two pairs from Barrington and a single pair from Haslingfield with long slender foot with reminiscent finial; a single example from Girton with median groove in the bow and wide, hollow-sided foot (imperfect), all come from the south Cambridgeshire group of cemeteries. From mid-Anglia there is a good pair from Luton, Beds. (grave 28), others from

[1] The diminutive specimen from Horton Kirby has for once all the appearance of a local imitation of a type borrowed from Anglo-Saxon settlers outside Kent, but made to the scale of the small Kentish square-headed brooches, as fig. 25.

[2] *V.C.H. Beds.*, i, 190; *B.M. Anglo-Saxon Guide*, fig. 98.

[3] R. Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. II.

[4] *V.C.H. Beds.*, i, col. plate, fig. 1; *B.M. Anglo-Saxon Guide*, fig. 82.

[5] British Museum.

[6] G. Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, iii, pl. XLII, 2.

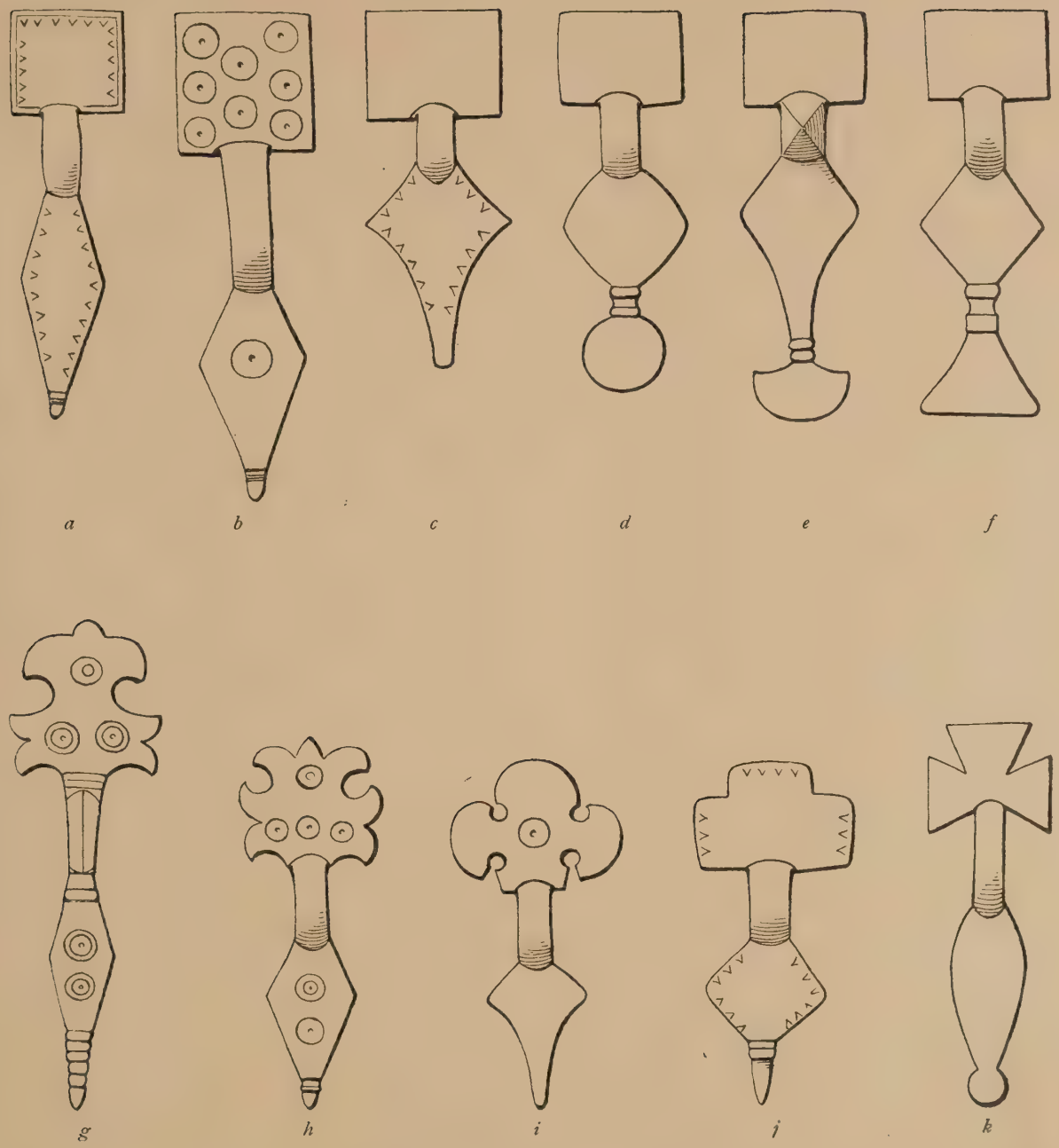

Fig. 23. Brooches with lozenge foot

(*a*) Barrington B, Cambs.; (*b*) Fairford, Gloucs.; (*c*) Luton, Beds.; (*d*) Bidford-on-Avon, Warwicks.; (*e*) Minety, Gloucs.; (*f*) Duston, Northants; (*g*) High Down, Sussex; (*h*) Barrington A, Cambs.; (*i*) Woodstone, Hunts.; (*j*) Watling Street, Leics. or Warwicks.; (*k*) East Shefford, Beds. ($\frac{1}{1}$)

Duston, Holdenby, and North Luffenham, with variant renderings of the foot, but without the finial.

In Wessex, Long Wittenham, East Shefford, and Fairford have all yielded examples with the finial, poorly preserved. From Frilford comes a pair with awkwardly stunted foot, and from Long Wittenham, grave 164, a rather indeterminate piece, possibly derived from a type with shield-shaped foot, an example of which from Faversham is in the British Museum.

The finial seems eventually to have found an outlet in a different mode of expression, by the addition of a disc, a triangle, or a half-disc to the lozenge (fig. 23 *d–f*). In some examples a ribbed moulding at the base of the lozenge perpetuates a feature of the normal finial. The disc is known from Bidford-on-Avon, Newnham (Northants), and in a slackly executed specimen from Huntingdonshire (?).[1] The triangle occurs at Duston, Watling Street, and Wheatley,[2] while from Barrington comes a brooch on which the lozenge is replaced by a disc, and also an unusually stoutly made pair with bevelled edges, with the lozenge-element almost reduced to atrophied arms.[3] Lastly, from Stapleford, Leics., there is one with a border of engraved circlets, partly emergent from the rectangle of the head-plate.[4] The half-disc is represented by two examples, almost identical in detail, so widely separated in space as Londesborough, Yorks., and Minety, Gloucs.

(*b*) *With horned head-plate* (fig. 23 *g–h*). A freakish conception, the inspiration of which is not clear. It is an uncommon type with a wide distribution, ranging from south Cambridgeshire to East Shefford, Berks., and High Down, Sussex.

(*c*) *With trefoil head-plate* (fig. 23 *i*). From Woodstone, Hunts., with a broad head on which the notches are almost withdrawn into perforations.

(*d*) *With head-plate with rebated corners* (fig. 23 *j*). Such come from Woodstone, Hunts., and Watling Street, with finial; others from Luton, Beds., and Islip, Northants.

(*e*) *With cross pattee head-plate* (fig. 23 *k*). At East Shefford, from which cemetery also comes a brooch with the finial and a flat version of a cruciform head (both in the British Museum).

Small square-headed brooches of non-Kentish type in Kent and Surrey: map (fig. 35).

In the face of the richer Frankish culture which by A.D. 500 had made its appearance in eastern Kent the humbler Anglo-Saxon (Jutish?) element did not long survive. Even in the process of absorption by the former it not unsur-

[1] In Huntingdon Museum. The actual provenance is uncertain.
[2] Here may be added one from Woodstone, Hunts., with head-plate with rebated upper corners.
[3] *C.A.S. Comm.*, v, 18, pl. II, 3.
[4] *V.C.H. Leics.*, i, 234, pl. I, 3.

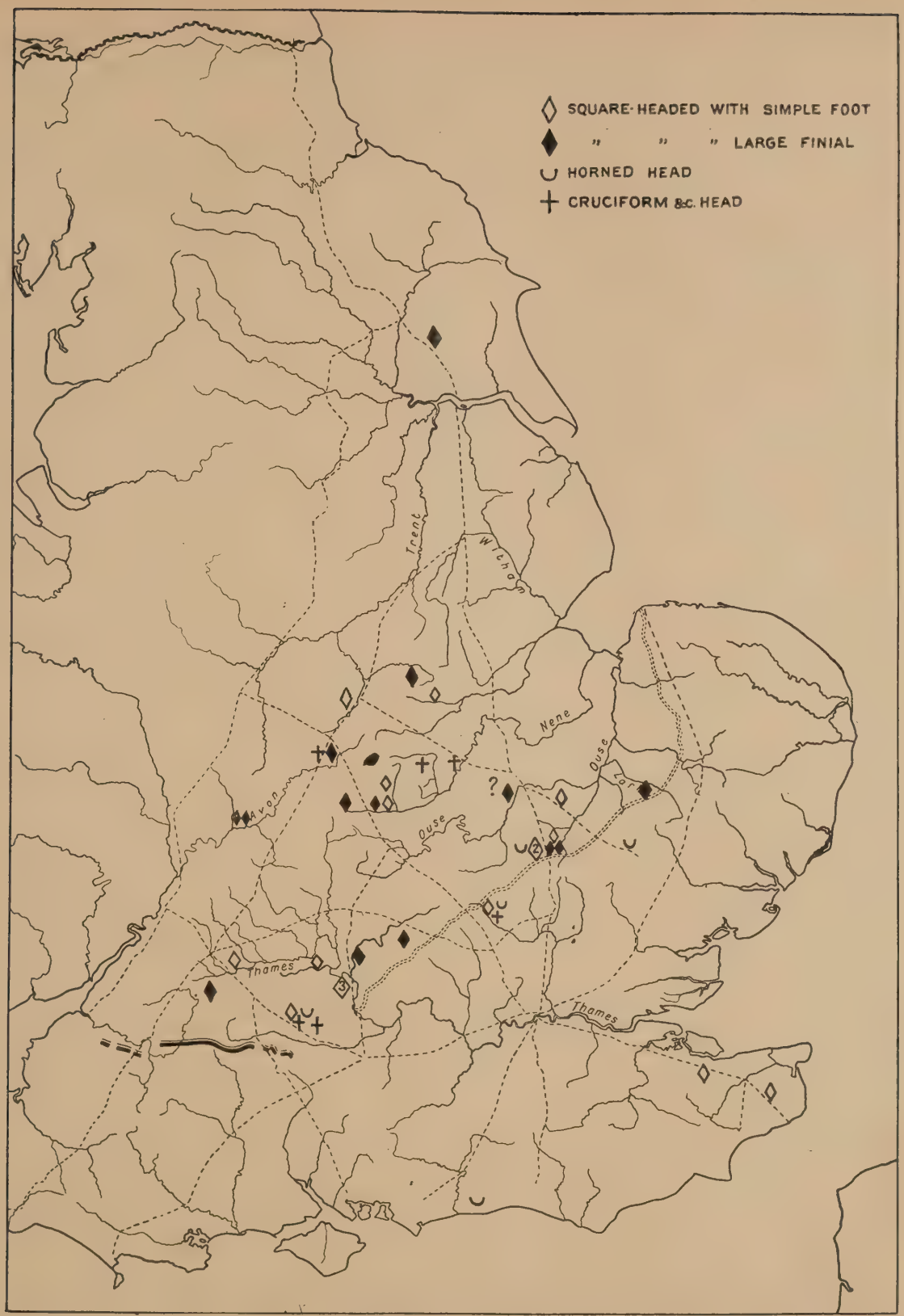

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Fig. 24. Small-long brooches: with lozenge foot

(A number denotes more than one grave-find or occurrence at a site; ? against a sign indicates uncertainty about the exact site within a county)

prisingly displays signs of that process and of the influences to which it was subjected.

This observation comes out in a small group of square-headed brooches, always of dimensions corresponding to the normal small Kentish rectangular-headed type (see p. 63). In some respects they might be regarded simply and solely as attempts by the earliest settlers to imitate the riches of the second arrivals, but it would be more correct to regard them as survivals of an older type, breaking out into experiment. They may all possibly be based on the crosspattee type of small-long brooch, since all the known examples show two, four, or even five engraved bull's-eye circlets on the head-plate, thus recalling the perforations in the prototype.[1] The way is paved by a slender pair of normal cross pattee derivatives (fig. 25 *f*). From that we pass to a much smaller brooch with a similar triangular foot, but with two pairs of lappets below the bow (fig. 25 *a*). All the above, as well as one of the cross pattee type, come from Bifrons (now in Bifrons House); in addition there are in Maidstone Museum two others, not a pair, from grave 6 in the 1867 excavations in the same cemetery (fig. 25 *b–c*).[2] They were associated with a disc brooch, a penannular bracelet, and a perforated spoon of tinned bronze. In these brooches the influence of the Kentish (i) and (iii) (see pp. 63–64) has clearly been at work, and in that respect they correspond to the imitations outside Kent itself. Closer to the original process is the brooch found at Croydon included in the Kentish type outside of Kent (fig. 34); details of the foot show the experimental stage that appears in the pair mentioned at the beginning of this section. Two other curious pieces come from the Croydon cemetery (fig. 25 *d–e*),[3] one of which has two pairs of lappets, quite fantastic in shape. It is only in this Kentish category that I can place a rather simple, slender brooch from Fakenham, Norfolk, in Norwich Museum (fig. 25 *h*); it has an hour-glass-shaped foot, which is repeated on a small square-headed brooch from Sarre (fig. 25 *g*).[4]

Unclassified Small-long Brooches.

It could hardly be expected that every single small-long brooch found in this country should exactly conform to one or other of the main classes reviewed above, but it is nevertheless remarkable how few fail to do so. For the sake of completeness I have included those exceptions which have come to my notice.

In the first place there is a brooch from Higham, Kent (fig. 26 *a*),[5] with lozenge-shaped head-plate, three flat knobs, and a crescentic foot with a round

[1] This point has been discussed more fully above, p. 30.
[2] *Archaeologia Cantiana*, x, 303 and fig. opp.
[3] *V.C.H. Surrey*, i, pl. opp. p. 257, nos. 2 and 3; they are preserved in Croydon Town Hall.
[4] Maidstone Museum.
[5] Rochester Museum, C. 123.

excrescence on its lower edge. It is, of course, as noted below in another connexion (p. 62), akin to the Frankish radiate type with semicircular head-plate and three knobs, but a better parallel to the form of the head-plate is afforded

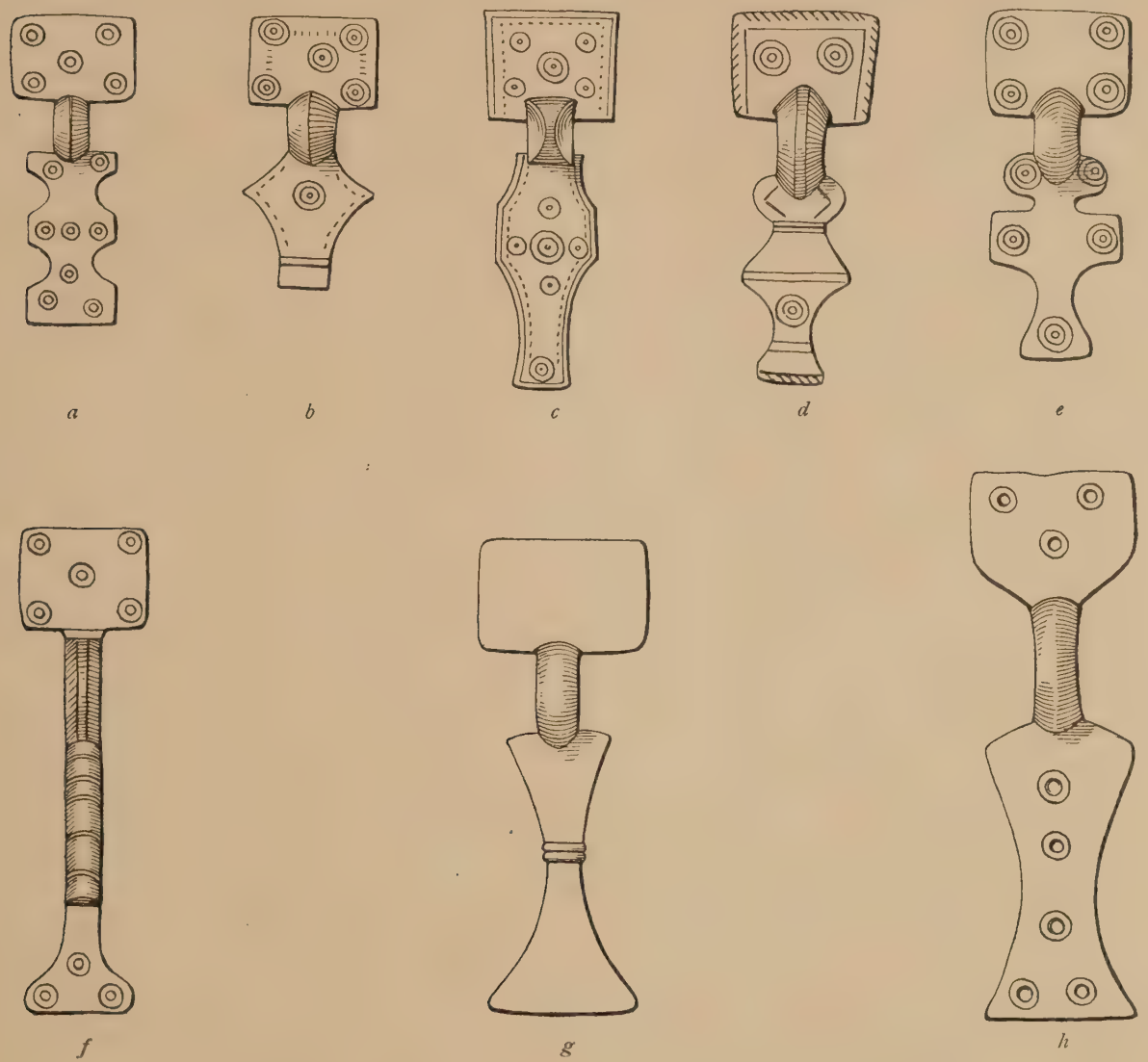


Fig. 25. Small-long brooches: non-Kentish square-headed types in Kent and Surrey (*a* and *f*) Bifrons, Kent; (*b* and *c*) Bifrons, 6, Kent; (*d* and *e*) Croydon, Surrey; (*g*) Sarre, Kent; (*h*) Fakenham, Norfolk ($\frac{1}{1}$)

by such a brooch as that from Småland (or Öland), Sweden (fig. 3 *a*).[1] Alongside the Higham brooch may be placed a pair from Guildown, grave 78 (fig. 26 *b*),[2]

[1] O. Montelius, *Remains of the Iron Age in Scandinavia*, pl. IV, 19.

[2] *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, XXXIX, 20 and 36, pl. XV, 4.

with a head-plate of the same character but, like the other parts of the brooch, executed more in the feeling of the general run of the small-long brooches. Behind the piece from Horton Kirby, Kent (fig. 26 *c*),[1] there again lurks a hint

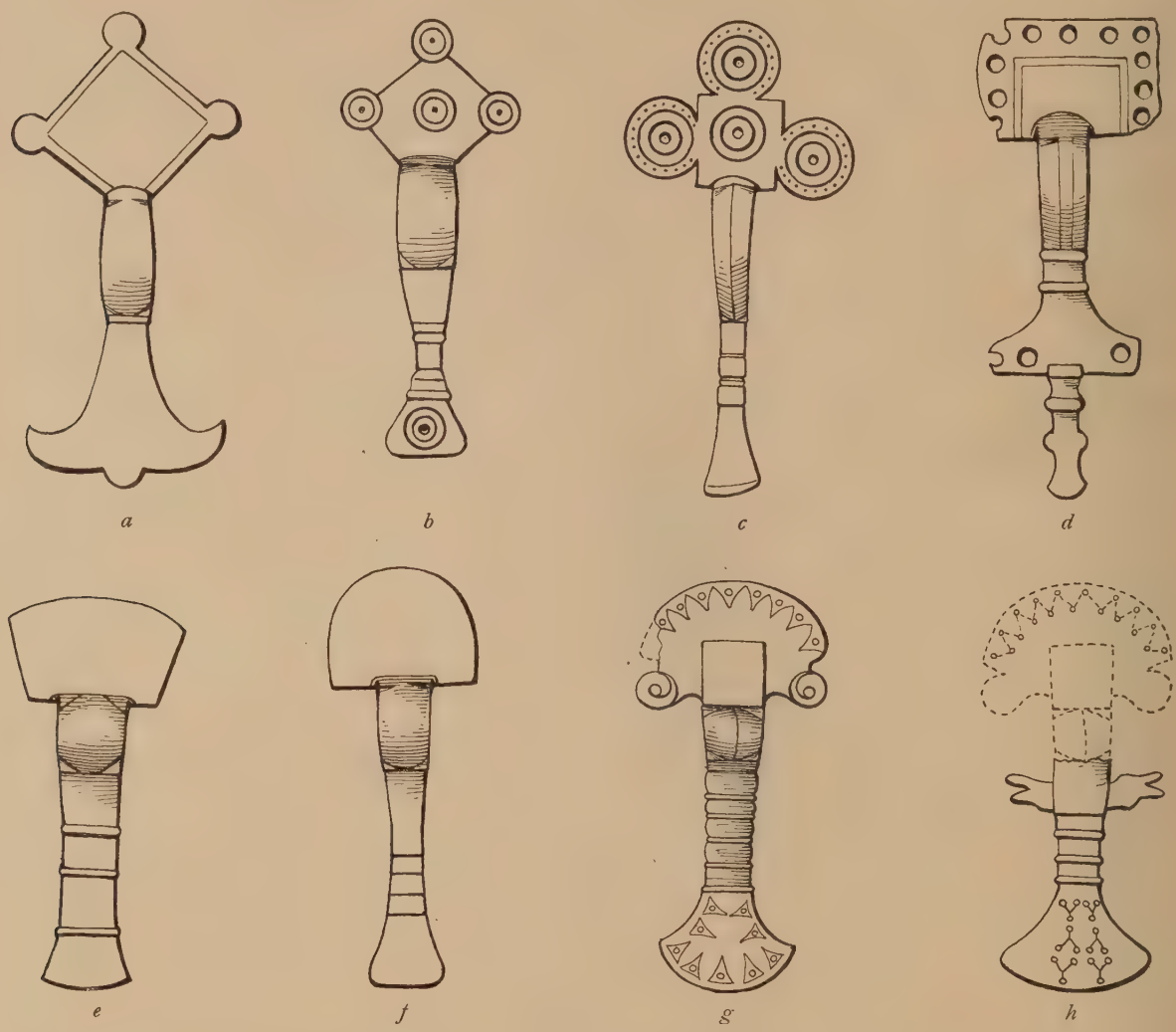


Fig. 26. Small-long brooches: abnormal types

(*a*) Higham, Kent; (*b*) Guildown, Guildford, Surrey; (*c*) Horton Kirby, Kent; (*d*) Holywell Row, 69, Suffolk; (*e*) Howletts, Kent; (*f*) Barrington B, Cambs.; (*g*) Driffield, E.R., Yorks.; (*h*) Eriswell, Suffolk ($\frac{1}{1}$)

taken from brooches like the above, but carried out on the lines of the cruciform type, as is the case with a Norwegian brooch found at Kvasseim, Jaederen (fig. 27 *a*).

Without parallel in this country, so far as I can discover, is the curious piece from grave 69 at Holywell Row, Suffolk (fig. 26 *d*);[2] the brooch could

[1] Maidstone Museum.

[2] Lethbridge, p. 34, pl. II D.

perfectly well have terminated at the splayed, perforated portion. The addition of part of the normal foot of an early cruciform brooch is awkward work and can only be regarded as a freak. Fairly close parallels to the head-plate, which is a miniature edition of that of some of the large square-headed brooches, are provided by brooches from Lunde, Lista, Western Norway, and Brunnhem,

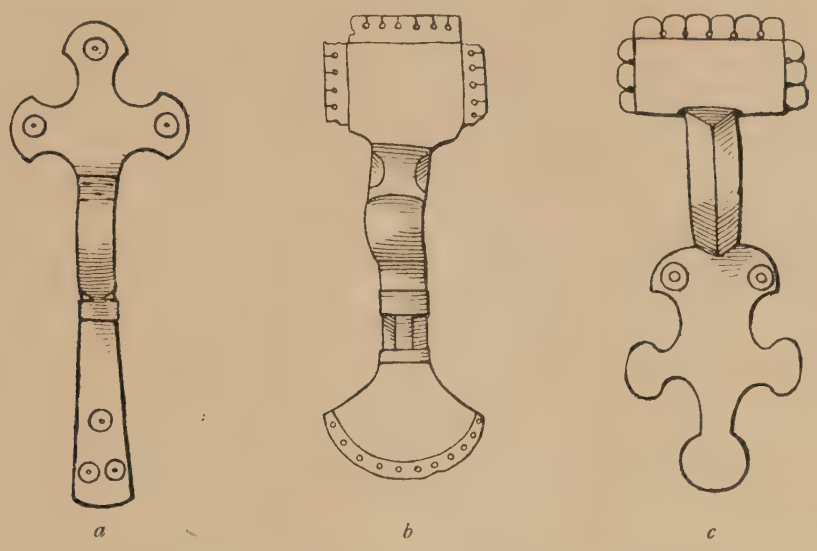


Fig. 27. Small-long brooches: Scandinavian examples
(*a*) Kvasseim, Norway; (*b*) Lunde, W. Norway; (*c*) Brunnhem, Sweden (½)

Vestergøtland, Sweden (fig. 27 *b–c*).[1] It is in any case an early piece; Mr. Lethbridge dates it to *c.* A.D. 500 owing to its association with a cruciform brooch of that time.

Lastly, there are three brooches with rounded head-plates. The first comes from Howletts, Kent (fig. 26 *e*);[2] it is very flat, even the bow being unusually low. It looks like a square-headed brooch which has been damaged and reshaped, but I believe the curved upper edge to be original. It is apparently an early piece, having been found in association with a cruciform brooch of Åberg's group I (late) or group II (early).

The simple specimen from Barrington B (fig. 26 *f*) can hardly be explained otherwise than as an imitation of the Frankish radiate type, the knobs having been omitted, and the inspiration for the remarkable brooch from Driffield, Yorks. (fig. 26 *g*),[3] may have come from the same source. It dates, in my opinion, late in the history of the small-long brooch, the stamped pattern on the foot is

[1] H. Shetelig, *Cruciform Brooches of Norway*, figs. 177 and 181.

[2] In the Relph collection, now in the British Museum, from a sketch made in 1935 when I visited the collection while still in Mr. A. R. Relph's possession.

[3] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, ii, 84, coloured plate, fig. 10.

one that recurs on silver bracelets and pendants, which as a rule have late associations. The imperfect brooch from Eriswell, Suffolk (fig. 26 *h*),[1] presents strong points of resemblance to the Driffield brooch, and I have ventured a restoration on the same lines. Here again not only the lappets, but the stamped motives speak for a late date.

PENANNULAR (fig. 28)

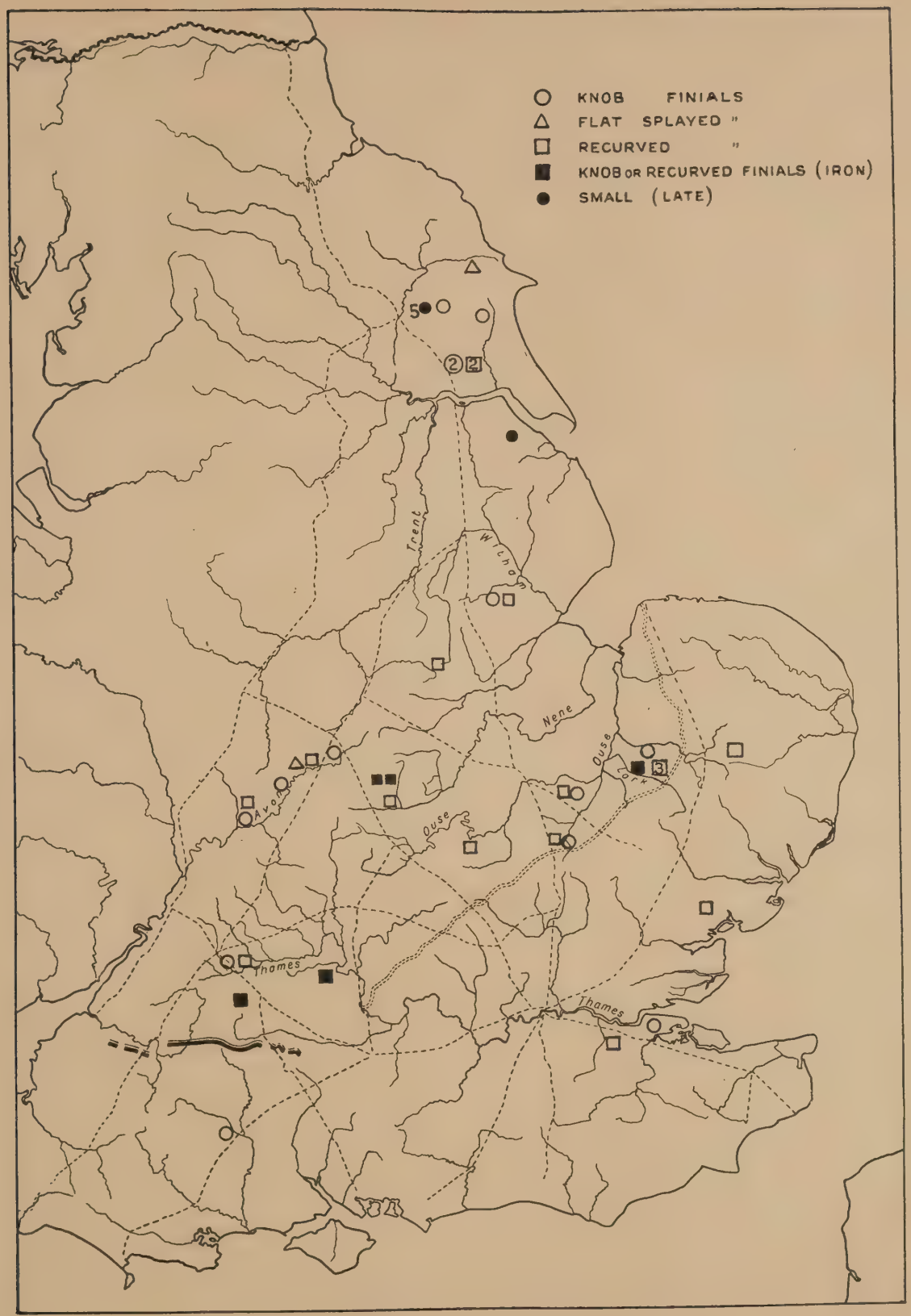
Brooches of this class are not numerous, and their distribution is withal so general that their occurrence has little significance in Anglo-Saxon archaeology. They are in any case essentially non-Anglo-Saxon in origin and must be regarded as relics of the older native culture. One variety, always of small size, usually made of a thin, narrow band of bronze, more rarely of plain or twisted wire, but always with the ends coiled backwards to form knobs, constitutes more than half the total of penannular brooches of any kind (some 20 in number) that I have been able to list from Anglo-Saxon graves or cemeteries. The type is quite familiar even from early Romano-British sites,[2] so much so that it may be questioned whether many of those found in Anglo-Saxon graves[3] are not loot from Roman sites, e.g. at Horton Kirby, Kent, where in another grave a Roman vase formed part of the furniture. At the same time, the broad annular brooches from Kent and Sussex include examples which in one sense are penannular, since an inner member is a penannular brooch that is omitted at a later stage (see p. 46). It is, however, certain that these brooches do not merely date from the earliest period of Anglo-Saxon history, but may even be native products of the interval between the departure of the Romans and the coming of the invaders.

The other varieties listed are more probably products of the Anglo-Saxon age proper. Some have the splayed, faceted finial, which marks an early phase of the great series of Celtic brooches that reaches so rich a development in Ireland, e.g. a small brooch from Baginton, Warwicks., and one with faceting from Barrington A. Commoner is a small variety with rounded knobs (once of biconical form at Girton); they occur apparently exclusively in Anglian districts from Yorkshire to Warwickshire and Suffolk; a variant with looped finial and twisted stem from Fairford, Gloucs., may go with those of the earliest group described above. In iron, examples of the knobbed type are known from Holywell Row, Suffolk (grave 52), and Holdenby, Northants., and a neat piece with twisted ring and coiled terminals from a cremation-urn at Sancton, Yorks.

[1] University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[2] e.g. from the Celto-Roman station at Woodeaton, Oxon. (Ashmolean Museum), where other varieties occur also, including that so richly represented at Lydney, Gloucs. (*Lydney Report*, pp. 78–9).

[3] An example from Bidford-on-Avon, *Archaeologia*, lxiii, pl. xii, fig. 2 *a*.



Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

Fig. 28. Penannular brooches: distribution-map

(Ashmolean Museum 1886. 1338; *V.C.H. Yorks.*, ii, 76). It seems certain that specimens in this perishable material are commoner than those noted would suggest, since broken fragments of ring-brooches in this metal have been observed in many cemeteries. They must certainly be of Anglo-Saxon date, and better than any others give the lie to the extermination of British inhabitants in the area of the settlements. Finally, there is the large thistle-knobbed brooch in silver from High Down, Sussex, bearing witness to intercourse with the Celtic world beyond the Anglo-Saxon pale.

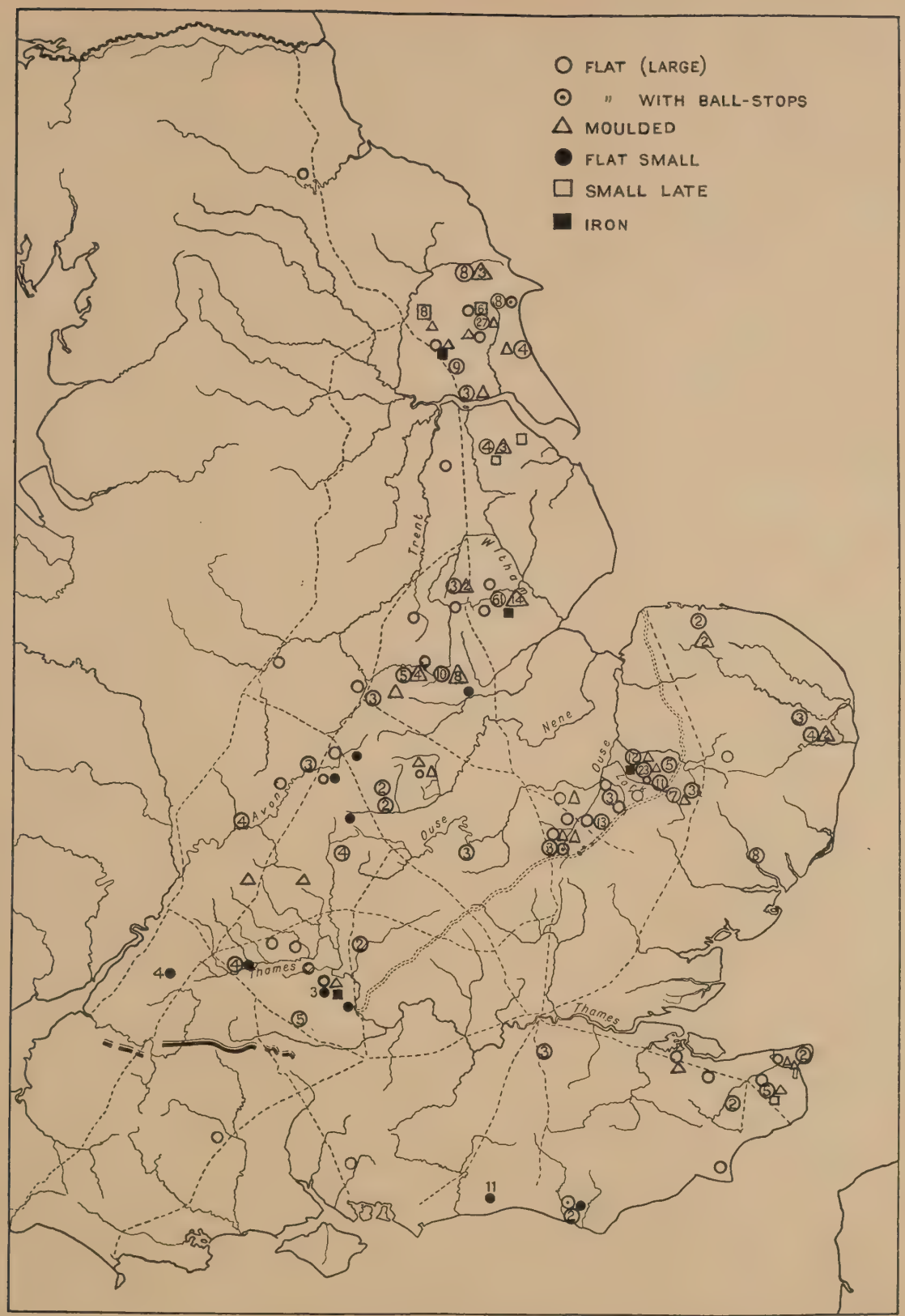
ANNULAR (fig. 29)

A beginning may here suitably be made with the class of annular brooches mentioned in the preceding paragraph. These, as has already been pointed out, in essence belong rather to the penannular than the annular group, but, since they have a direct bearing on later varieties of the annular brooches, with which in one sense also they morphologically agree, they constitute a link between the two groups. In this early class are represented all but one of the stages in the development of the annular brooch as a whole: (*a*) the brooch from Alfriston, Sussex, itself a broad, flat penannular form, has an inner penannular ring of wire, on which the pin slides, superimposed upon its inner margin; (*b*) that from Sarre, Kent, on which the outer band is entirely closed, and a cast, penannular ring with pseudo-torsion is attached by its finials and two subsidiary struts at various points of the inner circumference of the main ring, in which also, to allow more length to the pin, a notch has been cut; (*c*) from Sarre, Kent, in which the accessory ring has been discarded, the pin having been hinged in a slot near the inner edge of the ring with a corresponding notch opposite.[1] The knobs, which are a constant feature of simple penannular brooches and which act as stops to prevent the brooch becoming unfastened, are retained, being set at the inner edges of the notch.

These brooches, ornamented in a style that marks them as products of a culture anterior to that of the date at which the history of the Anglo-Saxon settlements begins, have a very limited distribution, being confined to Kent and Sussex, and thus to that part of Britain which was most accessible to contact with north-eastern Gaul, where parallels to the style are most apparent.

(*d*) Never again do they occur in such size as these southern examples, but the third variety persists in a smaller size, though in no great numbers. Examples with notches and stops from High Down, Sussex, are closely related to the larger variety by reason of their decoration. Evidence of date is supplied from grave 26,[2] in which one of these small brooches was associated with an

[1] All three are figured in my *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, pl. II, *b*, *c*, and *d*.
[2] *Archaeologia*, liv, 377.



Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

Fig. 29. Annular brooches: distribution-map

early trefoil-headed brooch, and another with lozenge-shaped foot and a semi-circular head-plate with three knobs, the latter a feature that has no long life in England. Elsewhere this small annular variety is known from Abingdon, Berks., Chavenage, Gloucs.,[1] and Watling Street. Before leaving this group, mention must be made of a silver brooch from Barrington A,[2] and the gilt silver brooch from Castle Bytham, Lincs.;[3] both these are set with small cabochon garnets in gold settings, and the latter has also plait-ornament.

(*e*) Closely related to the last group are annular brooches made without notch or stops, always of small size. These, too, are not numerous and have a southern and western range, High Down, Croydon, Wallingford, Fairford, and Marton (Warwicks.). One from Holywell Row (grave 45) should probably be included in this group.

(*f*) Next comes for consideration a group in which the ring, instead of being broad and flat, is a narrow band, half-round or oval in section, sometimes plain, but frequently with moulded decoration in bead-and-reel style, though seldom well executed. This group has an entirely different distribution from that just surveyed. An odd specimen found at Bifrons, Kent, and two more near the Rollright Stones, Oxon., and at Upper Swell, Gloucs., have little significance in the face of the large numbers in which they occur in other districts. In northern Suffolk there are a few, one each at Fakenham (Norfolk), Cambridge, and Rothwell, and a few in Leicestershire, while at Sleaford, Lincs., there are no less than ten, others at Caythorpe and Searby in the same county, and a few in the East Riding of Yorkshire.

It is not easy to assess their date. Those with carefully cast mouldings have a distinctly classical tinge, and suggest that they are contemporary with the large type examined above, even though a specimen was found at Hornsea, Yorks., grave 3, in association with one of the latest varieties of the large square-headed brooches (Kenninghall II type).[4] Compare also grave 17 at Holywell Row, Suffolk, which Lethbridge dates to the seventh century. One with notch and stops from West Stow (Bury St. Edmund's Museum) again points to the same relationship with the broad type, and yet at Sleaford (graves 86, 123) they occur more than once along with large cruciform brooches (Åberg, class III or IV), though in grave 14 with Roman coin-pendants. In short, the evidence of grave-associations suggests that it is a persistent type throughout the early Anglo-Saxon period, but had its roots in the preceding post-Roman period.

(*g*) The commonest of all the annular brooches is the large flat variety, made in two widths, the one about 1 cm. broad, the other narrower, ranging

[1] Leeds, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, 6–7.
[2] *Ibid.*, pl. 1, middle of second row.
[3] J. Y. Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. XII, 2.
[4] Leeds, *op. cit.*, 86, pl. XXV *d*.

from 5 to 7 mm. These undeniably belong to the full Anglo-Saxon period, as is proved by numerous associated groups.[1] Although they have a wide distribution, they greatly predominate in purely Anglian districts. In the East Riding I have noted 68, of which 9 come from Sancton, 8 from Staxton, and 24 from Driffield; in Lincolnshire no less than 61 come from Sleaford alone; and there are several from Market Overton, Rutland. They also occur in numerous cemeteries, though nowhere in large numbers, from Warwickshire to Cambridgeshire, in the latter area particularly west of the Granta, but in north Suffolk they appear again in greater numbers, e.g. 12 at Lakenheath, 22 at Holywell Row, 11 at Icklingham, besides 8 at Ipswich. In Wessex and the southern counties they are quite sporadic; 4 at Fairford and 5 at East Shefford are the largest counts. Clearly they must be reckoned as essentially a product of the Anglian area.

Lastly come the small annular and penannular brooches, normally about 1 in. in diameter, which are unquestionably late.[2] Uncleby and Garton Slack, East Riding, and Camerton, Somerset, have yielded the most, but they are also known from Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, and Kent.

DISC (fig. 30)

The distribution of this simple type presents a very striking contrast to that of the annular brooches, more particularly of the large flat variety so common in Anglian districts. I can only cite one specimen from Deira, one from Lindsey, and six more from the north Suffolk cemeteries. In the south Cambridgeshire cemeteries from Girton to Linton Heath I have listed 43 examples, in mid-Anglia from Woodstone to Marston St. Lawrence 34, while the count from the upper Thames valley rises to 119, Long Wittenham alone having yielded 48 and Abingdon 23. They occur only sporadically in the southern counties.

Obviously they are the counterpart in the Saxon districts to the large annular brooches in the Anglian, and in this respect stand with the saucer and applied brooches *vis-à-vis* the cruciform brooch. This additional contrast between the two tribal areas strengthens the point upon which Lethbridge[3] has insisted, namely that the cemeteries near Cambridge, particularly the Barrington-Haslingfield group, have far greater affinities to parts of mid-Anglia and Wessex than with their more immediate neighbours in Suffolk. I have not seen any suggestion about the origin of the disc-brooch; it seems that it must represent a native element in the Anglo-Saxon jewellery-casket. Certainly it has no forbears in northern Europe. The penannular and annular brooches are admittedly

[1] See Appendix II. [2] Leeds, *op. cit.*, 98–9. [3] Lethbridge, pp. 76–7.

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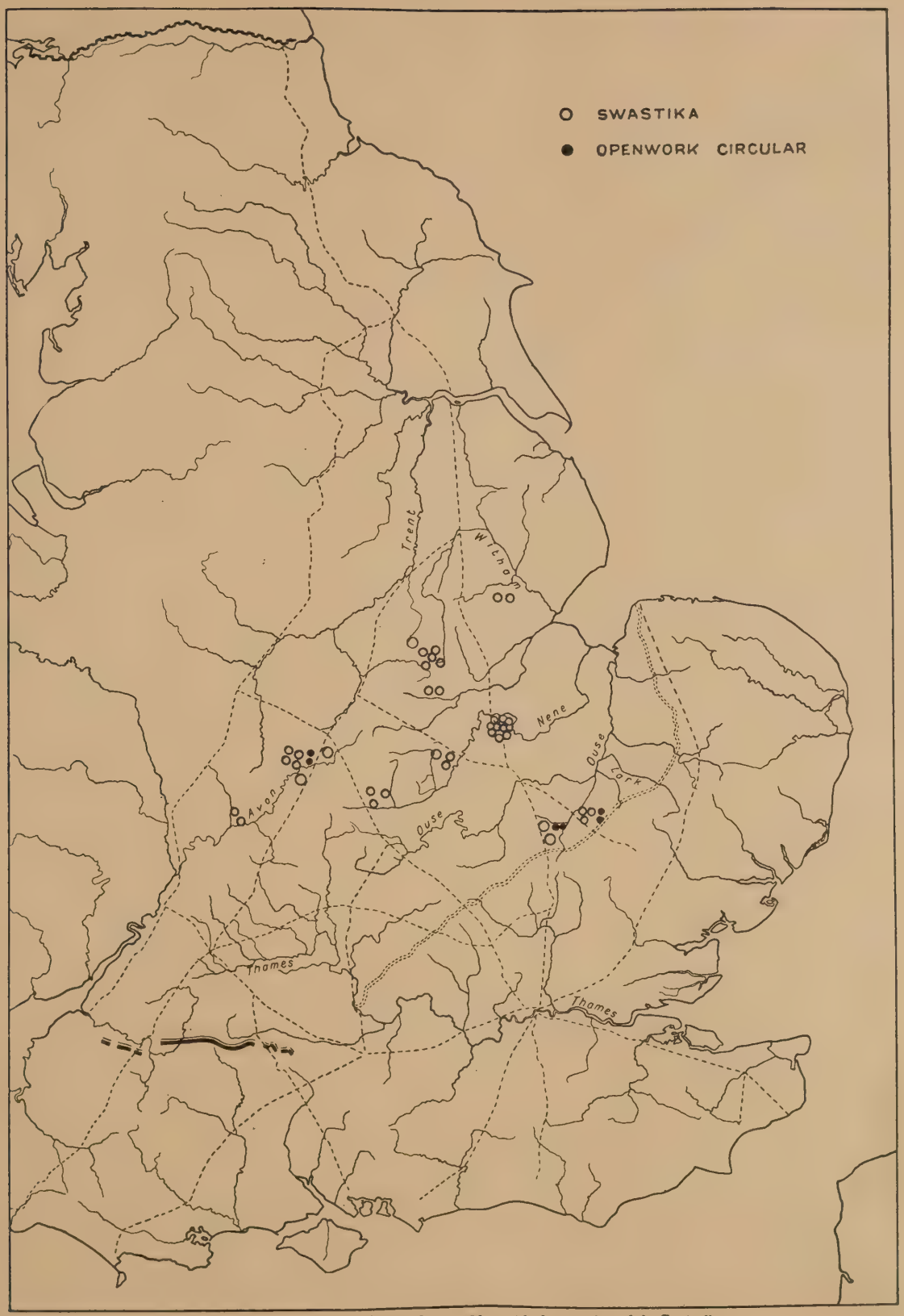
Fig. 30. Disc brooches: distribution-map



Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

Fig. 31. Swastika and cognate openwork brooches: distribution-map

Celtic in origin, and the latter in particular more numerous in the north. May not the disc-brooch represent a survival of the native element in the more Romanized south? A common decoration consisting of a quincunx of engraved bull's-eye circles is highly reminiscent of the circular enamelled brooches in the Romano-British series, although there is something of a gap in time between these and their Saxon counterparts.

SWASTIKA AND COGNATE TYPES (fig. 31)

Under this heading are grouped disc-shaped brooches with an openwork design. They are not numerous, and normally they are found in pairs like the disc- and many of the small-long brooches. On the map every individual specimen has been entered.

(i) The main type is that in which the central design is based on a swastika. In some specimens, however, instead of the irregular slots, which are essential if the fylfot is to be accurately represented, we find simple T-shaped openings.[1] Whether this is due to a natural inclination to regularity or to the passage of time and a misunderstanding of the design, it is difficult to decide. A little of both perhaps, and for that reason no distinction has been made to indicate them.

(ii) Alongside these, actually from the same cemeteries, are placed a few pairs, the openwork design of which takes a wheel-like form, varying in detail.

The distribution of these brooches is interesting and covers some of the same ground as do several varieties of the small-long brooch, but as the preponderance seems to be in the east midlands, they should as a class probably be credited to that area.

Three associations are available:

(*a*) Woodstone, Hunts.: pair with regular slots; with a pair of rather poor radiate brooches with five knobs and straight-sided foot. Latter half of sixth century.

(*b*) Little Wilbraham, grave 3: pair with wheel design; with a highly ornate, large square-headed brooch, probably not before 600.

(*c*) Little Wilbraham, grave 116: pair of true swastika pattern; with a cruciform brooch, a moderately early example of Åberg's group IV, *c.* 550–600.

There is unfortunately little evidence by which they can be dated, outside these few associated groups. Distribution may, however, supply the clue withheld by association. For the distribution of the group coincides closely with that of the eastern division of applied and saucer brooches, with a focus in the Nene valley and the head waters of the Welland and Witham, in short within the area into which fairly early in the sixth century there appears to have been an influx of wearers of the cruciform brooch up the Nene valley. These con-

[1] It is not certain how many of the Woodstone brooches bear the true swastika; nine brooches are simply enumerated in *V.C.H. Hunts.*, i, 272, under the title of swastika. At least eight more have recently been found at Nassington, Northants.

ceivably formed part of the movement from the Lark valley which similarly affected the region immediately around Cambridge. In that case the absence of the swastika type from the Lark area suggests that it constitutes an element, itself possibly intrusive, in the Saxon contribution to Mid-Anglian jewellery, preceding the coming of many of the cruciform and small-long brooches, but, it may be noted, arriving too late to have passed with the first wave of Saxons into the upper Thames valley. Curiously the origin of the brooch is slightly obscure. It is true that the swastika symbol occurs widely on pottery both in north Germany and in this country, and in a simple unframed form on brooches from Alfriston,[1] but in its circular framework as a brooch it appears to be unknown in north Germany. The only parallel I can cite is on a looped ornament from Torsbjerg.[2] One wonders whether the adaptation of the symbol in what is in most cases an indifferent representation may not be a development in England, a fleeting remembrance of pagandom, soon to pass into oblivion.

WRIST-CLASPS (figs. 32 and 33)

One of the minor Anglo-Saxon objects, which has always, probably justly, been regarded as a characteristic feature of dress-ornament among the Anglian as contrasted with the Saxon tribes is the wrist-clasp. Certainly it is almost unknown in southern England and Wessex, where any occurrences can only be attributed to imports from farther north.

Baldwin Brown has dealt with them at some length, but without attempting to classify them fully, and even the present survey does not claim to be exhaustive and therefore is not accompanied by a map. It will, it is hoped, give a reasonable indication of the various types in use and the areas in which they are to be encountered.

The most widespread is formed of a pair of small, oblong plates of sheet-bronze, often perfectly plain, but quite frequently decorated with embossed spots of various sizes and in various combinations. They were secured to the sleeve by small perforations, either along their outer edge, which is often cut into triangles or scolloped, or by rounded lugs jutting out from the edge.

As an example of the simplest type may be cited those from grave 8 at Holdenby, Northants.[3] Such clasps are naturally thin and flimsy and in order to strengthen them the metal was rolled back along the contingent edges, or a flat, cast bar was soldered on in the same position. The method is clearly demonstrated on a pair of clasps from Holdenby,[4] where the bars (no. 34 on the plate) are shown detached from the clasps (no. 39).

[1] *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, lvi, 36, pl. xi, 9-9 a.
[2] A. Mestorf, *Altertümer von Schleswig-Holstein*, pl. xlii, 499.
[3] *Journ. Northants. N.H.S. and F.C.*, xv, 96, pl. 1.
[4] *Ibid.*, xi, pl. 2.

Any attempt to arrive at greater elaboration at once brought casting into full play, appearing, for example, on such specimens as those from grave 83 at Holywell Row in association with two small annular brooches with recoiled terminals. On these clasps a bar in the style of Class *a* (see below) has been soldered or brazed on to the thin plate of sheet bronze, which is itself decorated with punched circlets. The employment of casting resulted in the fabrication of several varieties, not so numerous perhaps as might be expected. Here and there pieces of individual design are to be met with, but the main bulk of the material can it seems be resolved into less than a dozen main types which on examination appear capable of the following classification.

(*a*) The simplest variety (fig. 32 *a–c*) has an oblong bar on each member, gently rounded or squared edged, and cast on a higher plane than the rest of the clasp; it is decorated with a series of transverse lines, usually arranged in two or three groups. The method of fastening varies; if the oblong form is retained, two perforations are usual; other pieces have three rounded lugs, e.g. Northwold, Norfolk, *V.C.H. Norfolk*, i, 340, coloured pl. fig. 3; Driffield, E.R., Yorks. (Mortimer, *Forty Years*, fig. 890). For a more elaborate variety with zoomorphic ornament see fig. 33 *a*.

Additional decoration is obtained by casting the outer edge in various styles, similar to those employed on clasps made of sheet-metal, but by casting greater accuracy and elaboration was attained.

The relative date of this class is indicated by the following:

Girton, grave 33: with a cruciform brooch of Åberg's group IV a,[1] a smaller cruciform brooch, and a small-long brooch, a derivative of the cross pattee brooch (type e).

Soham, grave 12: with a small-long brooch of cross potent type of the stepped variety, and another with closed perforations (= cross potent derivative) (*Camb. Ant. Soc. Rep.*, xxxiii, 161, fig. opp., 4 A). To this pair of clasps a close parallel comes from Kilham, E.R., Yorks. (*V.C.H. Yorks.*, ii, 88, fig. 8).

East Riding, Yorks. (*Hull Museum Publications*, no. 33, 10 f.): with a cruciform brooch of Åberg's group IV a, a more advanced pair, probably = group IV b in Yorkshire[2]—quite new when deposited in the grave—and other objects.

Little Wilbraham, grave 68 (R. Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. 12); an example with a rounded bar, associated with a large square-headed brooch of the Haslingfield type, and a pair of smaller brooches, which must derive from a radiate Kentish type.

(*b*) Clasps with the bar divided into three or more plane surfaces, the intervening portions on a slightly lower plane, and normally ribbed, more rarely plain as in Little Wilbraham, grave 167. There is great variety in the form of

[1] Classified according to the system suggested below (see p. 69 *seq.*).

[2] See p. 72.

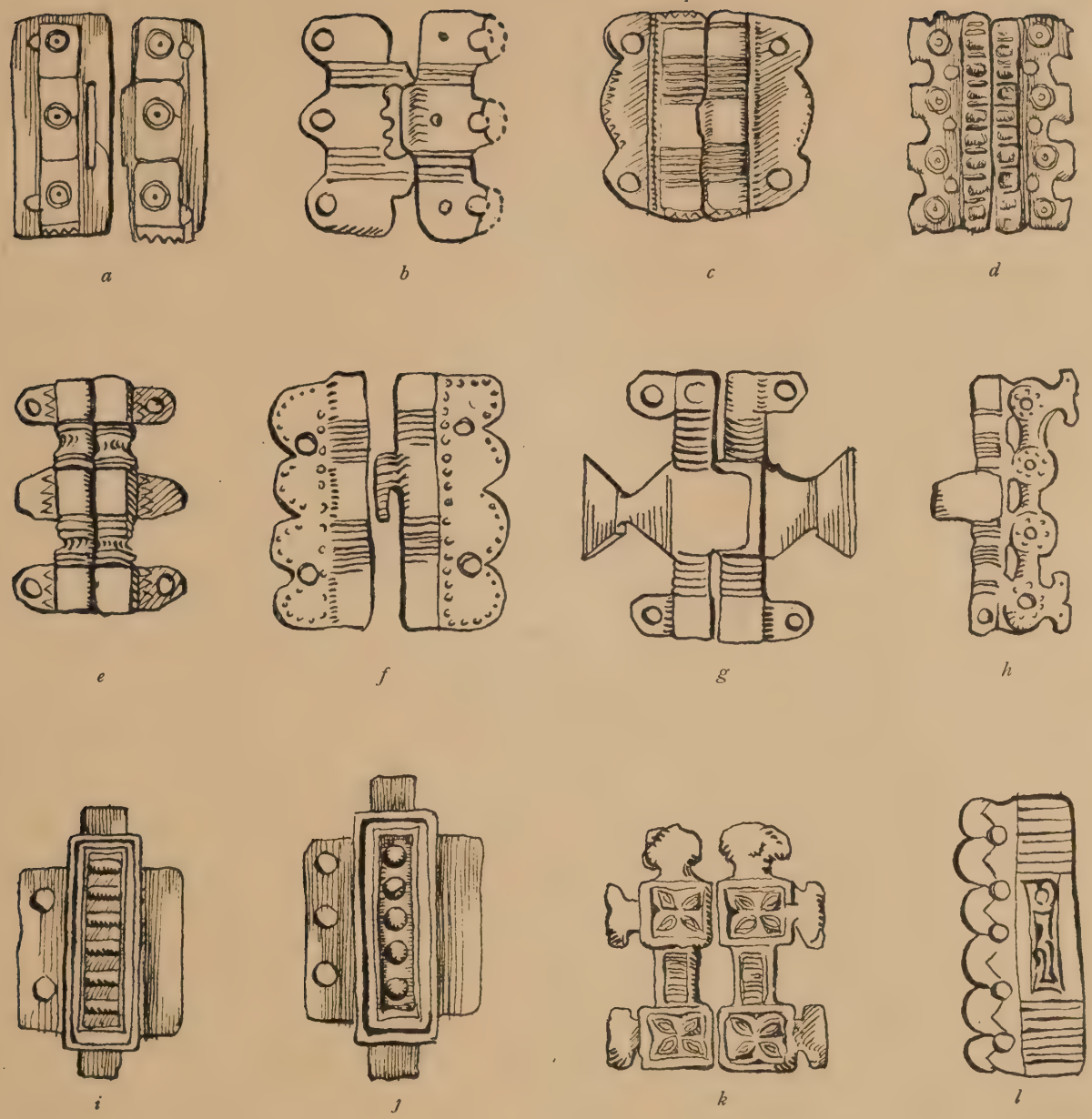


Fig. 32. Bronze Wrist-clasps, types *a*–

(*a*) Watling Street, Leics. or Warwicks.; (*b*) Northwold, Norfolk; (*c*) Kilham, E.R., Yorks.; (*d*) Soham, Cambs.; (*e*) Mitchell's Hill, 25, Icklingham, Suffolk; (*f*) Sancton, E.R., Yorks.; (*g*) Mitchell's Hill, 9, Suffolk; (*h*) Barrington A, Cambs.; (*i*) Girton, Cambs.; (*j*) St. John's C. G., Cambridge; (*k*) Sleaford, 116, Lincs.; (*l*) Londesborough, E.R., Yorks. ($\frac{1}{1}$)

the attachment-plate, which may take any of the forms already noticed. Using these as a basis of subdivision:

(i) With three flat perforated lugs, occurs in the following associated groups (fig. 32 *e*):

Girton, grave 7: with two cruciform brooches, Åberg's group II.
,, grave 39: two cruciform brooches (*Girton*, p. 10, pl. 1), Åberg, group IV a.
,, grave 45: two flat, heavy trefoil-headed brooches.
,, grave 54: two flat, heavy trefoil-headed brooches.

Holywell Row, grave 48 (Lethbridge, p. 25, fig. 12): with four cruciform brooches, all different (two of small size), all Åberg, group II.

Holdenby (*J. Northants. N.H. and F.C.*, xi, pl. 1, fig. 13 *a–b*): one cruciform brooch of Åberg, group IV a, and two small-long brooches, derivatives of the cross potent types, with crescentic foot.

Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, grave 25 (A.M. 1909. 477): with a cruciform brooch, a late example of Åberg's group III, and two flat annular brooches.

(ii) With indented or scolloped edge (figs. 32 *d* and *f* and 33 *c*):

Holywell Row, grave 58 (*loc. cit.*, p. 30, fig. 15): a large cruciform brooch with florid knob (Åberg, group IV b) and three narrow annular brooches.

Ibid., grave 79 (*loc. cit.*, p. 35, fig. 16): three large cruciform brooches, two representing different stages of development of Åberg's group III and one of Åberg, group IV b, with florid knob, and one small-long brooch with panelled and hooked, square head (see p. 36, fig. 22 *h*).

Newnham, Cambridge (Cambridge Mus.): one small-long brooch, with trefoil head with bifid lobes.

(iii) With two perforated lugs, the third (middle) one replaced by an ornamental excrescence (fig. 32 *g*):

Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, grave 9 (A.M. 1909. 475): with two small-long brooches with hooked, square heads (a parallel specimen from Islip, Northants).

(iv) With the perforated lugs replaced by T-shaped excrescences, over the stem of which the thread for attachment to the material was passed. One from Barrington, Cambs. (Ashmolean Museum 1909. 298 *d*) has four roundels along a secondary bar and two bifid T-lugs (fig. 32 *h*).

(*c*) (i) On these the decoration of the bar consists of a series of lines or spots in relief within a plain frame; at each end of the bar is a rectangular projection, on the same lower plane as the attachment-plate, which is perforated (fig. 32 *i* and *j*). They are not numerous and appear to be almost confined to the south Cambridge cemeteries. For almost all there are well-documented associations:

Girton, group I (*Girton*, p. 11; Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, pl. xxvii, 2): a large cruciform brooch of Åberg's group IV b with florid upper knob; a pair of disc brooches, and a girdle-hanger.

St. John's Cricket Ground, Cambridge (Cambridge), with cremation burial: a pair of small square-headed brooches, with panel and lappets.

Barrington B, grave 110: pair of trefoil-headed brooches, with lappets and bifid foot.

? Mildenhall district (Cambridge, Ridgeway Coll.): a large square-headed brooch of the Ipswich type, a small disc brooch, and another larger with an engraved quatrefoil design.[1]

(ii) Apparently an ornate development of the above; at each end of the bar a square plate with a quatrefoil; a rounded excrescence at the hinder ends; T-shaped lugs (fig. 32 *k*).

Sleaford, Lincs., grave 116 (*Archaeologia*, l, 395, pl. xxiii, 9): with a large, florid cruciform brooch (Åberg, group V).

An imperfect specimen from West Stow, Suffolk, is in the Cambridge Museum.

(*d*) The bar is primarily narrow and is transversely ribbed throughout its length; the thinner attachment-plate has a quasi-scolloped edge, e.g. Little Wilbraham, grave 117. Later the bar and plate are cast in one plane, the plate consisting of a row of roundels, sometimes with spots in place of perforations, the attachment-holes being interspersed between the roundels or placed in separate lugs. One from Londesborough, E.R., Yorks. has a panel of almost meaningless zoomorphic ornament in the middle of the bar (figs. 32 *l* and 33 *b*);[2] the same appears on one from Sleaford, grave 227, on which also the roundels are combined with triangles in such a way as almost to produce the effect of the classical Lesbian kymation. Associated examples are known from:

Little Wilbraham, grave 116: with a large cruciform brooch, a late example of Åberg's group IV b.

Sleaford, grave 227: with two annular brooches.

To this group belongs the pair with gusset-appendage and remains of cloth, from Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, Cambs., figured in *Archaeologia*, lxiii, 186, figs. *c–d*.

(*e*) An apparent variant of the class *d* is at present known by four specimens, from Watling Street, Leics. or Warwicks. (fig. 33 *d*),[3] Baginton, Warwicks., Great Wigston, Leics.,[4] and Harlton, Cambridgeshire.[5] On the first the striated bar remains; the outer portion has a row of circular holes; the second and third have triangular holes, and vertical ribbing on the bar. All have a zoomorphic gusset-appendage, like the animal-head on the feet of advanced cruciform brooches. Though no proof of association exists, it may be noted

[1] Neither the provenance nor the association is quite certain.

[2] Ashmolean Museum 1886. 1343.

[3] Ashmolean Museum 1935. 621.

[4] *Collectanea Antiqua*, ii, pl. xlii, 6 and lower part of 10.

[5] Cambridge: University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

that a little group of objects from the Watling Street includes a coarse example of a florid cruciform brooch of Åberg's group V.

(*f*) The two halves of the clasp are identical in decoration, the basis of which is an ε (*epsilon*)-shaped composite band, consisting in the finer examples of external plain bands, enclosing a band of guilloche, guilloche and billets combined, or billets alone (fig. 33 *e*); the poorer pieces are content with a series of narrow bands. The ε-shaped bands, which are confronted when the clasp is fastened, terminate at each end in a crook-beaked animal-head, the beak filling the inner curve of the band. Along the back of the ε there are additional zoomorphic motives; in the best-preserved specimens a pair of confronted crouching animals in the style of those so clearly executed on the gusset-plate from Suffolk in the British Museum,[1] a plate which may well have been associated with clasps of this class. On a pair from North Luffenham, Rutland, this part of the design has been misunderstood and bungled, as demonstrated by the more complete animal which fills the interior of the triangular gusset-plate. The zoomorphic ornament here employed differs widely from that used on the finer examples, three at least of which repeat it on elaborate gusset-plates, some of them cast *à jour*. The whole style is that of the period, when East Anglia adopted, as I have endeavoured to show, many loans of ornamental form and decoration from the products of the Kentish artificers,[2] and the beast in this particular guise becomes specially prevalent on works of the late sixth and the seventh centuries. The same type of gusset-plate is also associated with a clasp of more normal, rectangular shape as in class *d*, decorated with S-motifs interspersed with groups of lines. Here we seem to have a combination of classes *d*, *e*, and *f*, since the S and lines recur on the Harlton clasp of class *e*, while classes *e* and *f* both add the animal-head, the former as an appendage to one member of the clasp, the latter as a finial to the detached gusset-plate. Most of the clasps of class *f* were secured by loops or by perforations near the edge of the decoration, but a few, exhibiting an unintelligent or simplified version of the design, have substituted the T-shaped excrescences.

Associated groups affording evidence of relative chronology are:

Barrington A: a small-long brooch, square-headed, with horns and lappets, and a small square-headed brooch. Parallel in style is the half-clasp from Cambridgeshire,[3] which in turn so closely resembles the clasp with gusset-plate from Barrington A[4] that these pieces, now dissociated, may originally have belonged to the same suite.

[1] British Museum, *Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, fig. 100; Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, pl. xx *a*, lower.

[2] Leeds, *op. cit.*, chap. V.

[3] British Museum, *Anglo-Saxon Guide*, fig. 99.

[4] Ashmolean Museum, 1909. 294.

Fig. 33. Wrist-clasps, elaborate types

(*a*) Barrington A, Cambs.; (*b*) Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, Suffolk; (*c*) Barrington B, Cambs.; (*d*) Watling Street, Leics. or Warwicks.; (*e*) Barrington A, Cambs.; (*f*) Holywell Row, 98, Suffolk; (*g*) Beeby, Leics. (½)

Barrington B: with a very ornate, large square-headed brooch (*Cambridge Antiq. Soc. Comm.*, v, pl. xi, 2; Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, iii, pl. lxxix.

St. John's Cricket Ground, Cambridge: a simplified example, with a large square-headed brooch (Haslingfield type), an applied brooch (Kempston type, as *Archaeologia*, lxiii, pl. xxvii, 1; *Antiq. Journ.*, xiii, 243, no. 1) with a central stud of blue glass, and amber beads.

The combination of guilloche and billets in the ε-shaped band occurs on a pair from West Stow Heath (Bury St. Edmunds), two pairs from a site in Suffolk (?) (private), and the odd piece from Saxonbury, Sussex (Lewes).

(*g*) Another ornate type, closely resembling the last in general outline, but with an all-over zoomorphic decoration in relief, in a heavy style (Lethbridge, p. 12, fig. 6 and here fig. 32*f*). There are two useful associations:

Little Wilbraham, grave 133 (Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. 12): a cruciform brooch of Åberg's group III, and two imported (Kentish or foreign) radiate brooches with five knobs and straight-sided bow, as Åberg, fig. 150.

Holywell Row, grave 16: a large cruciform brooch of Åberg, group IV b, with elaborate middle knob, and an equal-armed brooch of an uncommon type, known from Stapenhill, Staffs.[1]

Another from grave 98 was associated with two flat, annular brooches; others are known from Linton Heath, graves 38 and 44,[2] and from Rothwell, Northants.[3]

(*h*) There still remains a variety of fastening, not necessarily used as a wrist-clasp, which may, however, conveniently be included in this survey. It is constructed on the principle of the modern hook-and-eye dress-fastening, though on a somewhat larger scale, from silver or bronze wire, the ends being spirally coiled. It is just conceivable that the basic idea of the ornamentation of class *e* already described was inspired by this simple type, which has a longer history, since it occurs on the continent, e.g. in Western Norway at a date around A.D. 500,[4] where also wrist-clasps of sheet-bronze are found.[5] These latter unlike the English clasps were not placed on the outside of the cloth, but were concealed beneath it, and were secured by round, ornamental studs riveted through the cloth to the actual clasp.[6]

Most of the wire-clasps found in England are of the simple form described above; on a set from a grave at Market Overton, Rutland, the inner end of the spiral coil has been beaten out flat and embellished with engraving.

[1] Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, iii, pl. xxxvii, 6.

[2] *Arch. Journ.*, xi, 104–5.

[3] *Camb. Ant. Soc. Comm.*, xx, 59, pl. vii.

[4] O. Rygh, *Norwegian Antiquities*, Part I, figs. 270–1; H. Shetelig, *Vestlandske Grave fra Jernalderen*, figs. 112, 150.

[5] Rygh, *op. cit.*, fig. 268.

[6] Shetelig, *op. cit.*, fig. 255, in a grave of mid fifth-century; fig. 317, from a grave dated *c.* A.D. 550.

Examples in bronze are known from Holywell Row, graves 20 and 79, and from Kenninghall; in silver from Northwold,[1] Market Overton,[2] from Beeby[3] (fig. 33*g*) and Twyford, Leics., Sleaford, grave 121, and Holywell Row, grave 17.

The general conclusion to be drawn from this survey, admittedly not so thorough as that of the small-long and other brooches, is that, while the wrist-clasp *per se* is to be met with in most Anglian districts, the decorated examples seem to concentrate in the eastern counties, including Lincolnshire and south-east Yorkshire. Such specimens as occur in the Midlands are nearly all closely allied to the eastern group, and, as their distribution indicates, may have been carried thither by the same routes by which other material found its way. Only class *e* appears to have any reasonable claim to a midland (Mercian) origin. Class *c* seems to have a more limited distribution in south Cambridgeshire, while class *d*, though known from the Cambridge region may fairly be regarded as specially favoured in Lindsey and Deira. The examples of class *f* found in Kent and Sussex must, as Baldwin Brown observed, be imports in spite of the fine quality of two of them; they are quite out of place amid the material of the southern counties; indeed they hardly even line up in date with the rest of the Anglo-Saxon (as contrasted with Kentish) objects found at Bifrons. For as a whole the evidence of association indicates that none of the more ornate clasps are early; the evidence afforded by the cruciform and small-long brooches shows that few if any of the cast specimens can be earlier than *c.* A.D. 550, the majority range over the last half of the century and deep into the seventh century. Even evidence for hammered clasps before 550 is not easy to find; Holywell Row, grave 53, is probably as early as one can get; and that is the early part of the sixth century.

OBJECTS OFKENTISH FABRIC AND IMITATIONS FOUND OUTSIDE KENT

(Distribution-maps: figs. 35 and 36)

In the foregoing chapters Kent and the individual character of its culture has scarcely come into the picture at all and then only by way of subtraction of an exiguous Anglo-Saxon element from the far greater Kentish mass.[4] The debt of the latter to its neighbours in this country is notoriously small, while that of the poorer northern and western districts to the richer and higher civilization of Kent is considerable. It may therefore be of interest to examine the evidence for the latter debt along the lines adopted in the above survey in order to ascertain both of what exactly the loans consist and also what influence they exercised upon the borrowers and their products. I have had occasion

[1] *V.C.H. Norfolk*, i, 340, col. plate, fig. 1.
[2] *Archaeologia*, lxii, 484, fig. 2.
[3] *V.C.H. Leics.*, i, 238 with fig.; Ashmolean Museum 1938. 19.
[4] By Kentish as applied to culture I mean, of course, the recognizedly Frankish element.

more than once in the past to deal with various aspects of this question: here I shall try to present the whole matter on wider lines. In doing so I propose to omit entirely certain classes of objects like glass, bronze vessels, amethyst beads, and the like, which, if they were obtained from Kent, in any event exercised no visible influence on the products of the other areas in which they have been found; but I shall include any material of unmistakable Kentish fabric when it has been copied or has inspired the work of Anglo-Saxon artificers elsewhere. I fully realize that the Sutton Hoo discoveries have opened up a wide field of speculation on this point, but, pending its full publication, it may at least be admitted that Kent has first claim in England to having worked in the style and techniques represented by that treasure.

As the main subject of this thesis is 'the small-long brooches', it is only right to begin with their Kentish equivalents.

(*a*) *Brooches with a semicircular, radiate head.* It may at once be said that, so far as it is possible to judge, all those with five knobs were imports either from Kent or from some Frankish source, though naturally there is nothing to have prevented reproduction in the case of simpler examples, without garnet settings, like the fragmentary brooch from Staxton, E. Riding, Yorks. (Hull Museum). The fine brooch from Market Overton with bird-headed knobs has certainly no parallel in Kent, but it is most improbable that it was made in the Midlands.

It is otherwise with brooches with only three knobs. Leaving aside the small pair from Harnham Hill (grave 13), near Salisbury, which, as Baldwin Brown's illustration [1] clearly proves, must have emanated from the same workshop as one from Chessell Down, Isle of Wight, and is therefore an import into Wiltshire from a Jutish source, the known examples appear to be confined to five, three from Little Wilbraham, graves 10 and 68, one from High Down, Sussex (grave 26), and one from Sleaford, grave 176. Of these, two (not a pair) from grave 10 at Little Wilbraham have every appearance of being attempts to copy ornate Kentish or Frankish work, but might be poor products which found their way to Cambridgeshire.[2] The third, from grave 68, is plain and undoubtedly local work. The fourth, also a simple piece, is interesting, since it combines a head-plate more reminiscent of Scandinavian than Frankish style with a lozenge-shaped foot with finial knob, which characterizes one of the classes of small-long brooches (*supra*, p. 36).[3]

[1] *Op. cit.*, iv, 620, fig. 21; *Archaeologia*, xxxv, 261, pl. xxxv, 5.

[2] A pair, closely resembling the larger of these, has recently been found at Cassington, Oxon.

[3] The idea of this foot was probably inspired by the more ornate examples of the radiate-headed class, which have a lozenge-shaped foot terminating in an animal's head, now reduced to a mere moulding.

Finally, there is a small brooch from Barrington, probably an import; it can be compared with a Lombard type.[1]

(*b*) *Square-headed brooches.* Here we get on to much surer ground, and must first distinguish three Kentish variants:[2]

(i) with lozenge-shaped panel in the foot-plate, terminating in (α) an animal head, or (β) a rectangular finial;

(ii) with a cruciform bar on the foot-plate and rectangular finial;

(iii) a variant of the last, but with the transverse bar so far suppressed that the foot appears to be divided into two panels by a vertical bar, which terminates in a triangle, the base of the foot being correspondingly shaped.

These definitions only apply to the small-sized brooches. It is unnecessary to dwell here on the influence of the larger Kentish types, since I have examined it at some length in *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (chap. V). No piece of undoubted Kentish fabric has as yet been found outside the Jutish territories. Of the smaller class there is a quite considerable material for study.

(iα) *with animal-head finial.* A pair from Freckenham, Suffolk (Cambridge) are almost certainly imports; two from Barrington are probably copies; while one from Bidford-on-Avon is an excellent illustration of imitative work with all the essentials of the prototype reproduced, but with mask-like projections added not only to the sides of the foot-plate, but as a full-bearded face to the end of the foot, in a purely Anglo-Saxon manner.

(iβ) *with rectangular finial.* One from Guildown may be Kentish work; of those from Luton and Bidford-on-Avon the former may be, but the latter, though a neat piece, does not quite carry conviction. Of two from Linton Heath, that from grave 21 (fig. 34 *b*), associated with a large square-headed brooch (very closely paralleled at Duston, Northants), is certainly a copy; the other, from grave 39 (fig. 34 *a*), diverges from the prototype in several details, but is a striking little piece having two large glass settings, one blue in the head-plate, the other sulphur-yellow in the foot. The same divergence in detail is repeated on the specimen from Ilchester, Somerset, one of the most westerly of early Anglo-Saxon finds. Mr. Reginald Smith regarded this piece as a copy,[4] but I do not feel that this is necessarily so. Others from Abingdon and Brighthampton show a steady decline, until at last we reach examples from Guildown (fig. 34 *c*), Fairford (fig. 34 *d*), Barrington, and Linton Heath, which have lost all relief and are at best decorated with engraved spots and bull's-eye circles; all in this last group have circular finials.

[1] Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, iii, pl. xxxvii, 2.

[2] The three types are illustrated in my *Early Anglo-Saxon Art*, pl. xv, upper, lower, and middle rows.

[3] A list is given in Appendix I (p. 102).

[4] *V.C.H. Somerset*, i, 373, col. pl., fig. 3.

(ii) *with cruciform bar and rectangular finial.* A pair from Brighthampton, Oxon. (fig. 34 *e*), are fair copies, but a pair from Linton Heath, grave 72 (fig. 34 *f*) falls into line with the last-mentioned group of class i *β*.

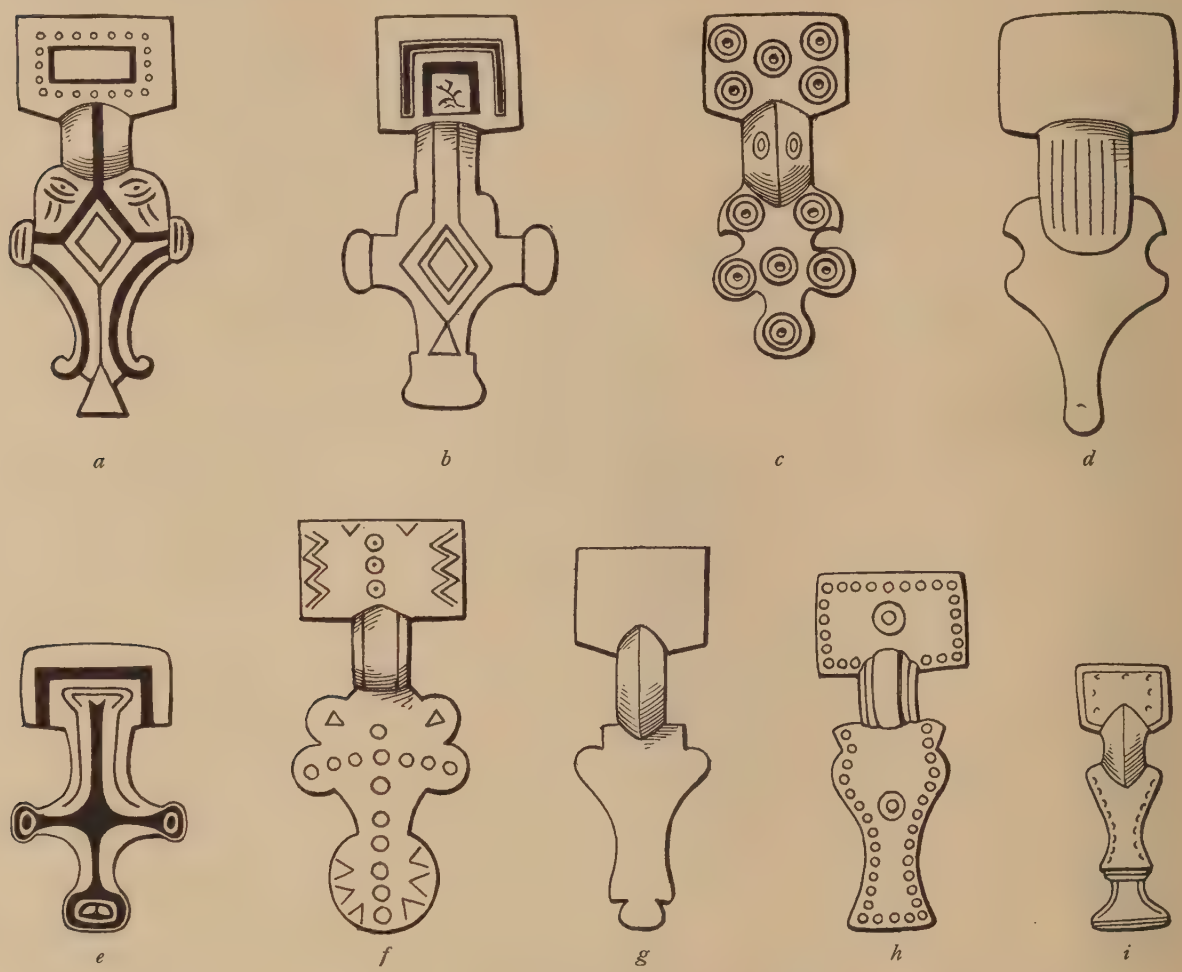
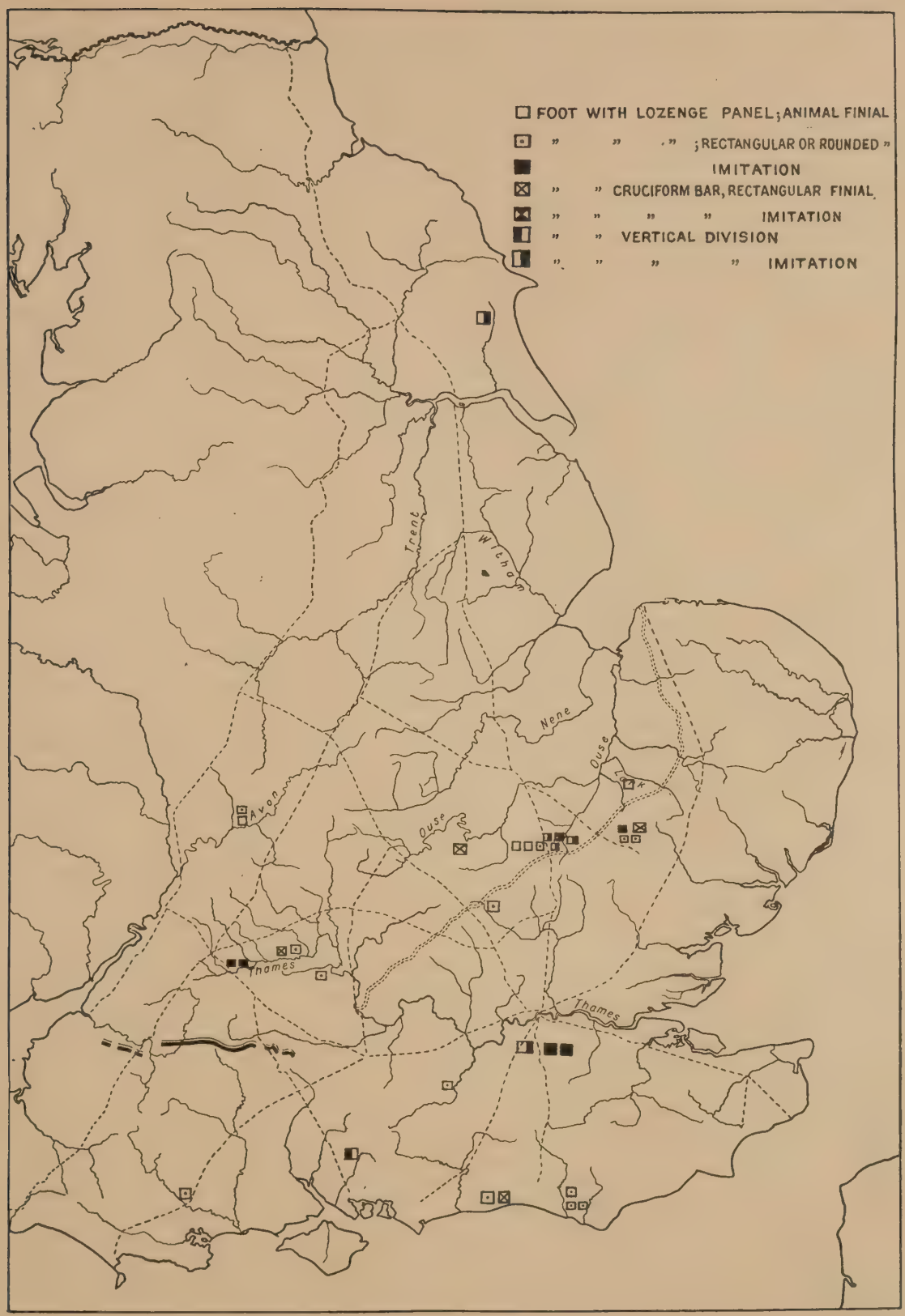


Fig. 34. Small-long brooches: square-head imitations of Kentish type (outside Kent and Isle of Wight)
(*a* and *b*) Linton Heath, 39 and 21, Cambs.; (*c*) Guildown, Surrey; (*d*) Fairford, Glouc.; (*e*) Brighthampton, Oxon.; (*f*) Linton Heath, 72, Cambs.; (*g*) Barrington A, Cambs.; (*h*) Driffield, E.R., Yorks.; (*i*) Mitcham, Surrey (½)

(iii) *with vertical bar.* That from Droxford, Hants, a settlement in the Meon valley, is naturally to be regarded as Jutish work; all the rest, from Mitcham, Barrington A, Kempston, and Driffield are local copies in undecorated and ungilded bronze (fig. 34 *g–i*).

(*c*) *Circular brooches.* All those found outside Kent are already familiar. Class i (according to my arrangement)[1] is represented by Little Wilbraham and

[1] Leeds, *op. cit.*, Appendix.



Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

Fig. 35. Small-long brooches: distribution-map of square-head of Kentish type and imitations (outside Kent and Isle of Wight)

Ipswich, all probably copies. Their non-discovery in Wessex is all the more interesting, because it is there that the features of the type are most frequently copied on saucer-brooches. Class ii is conspicuous by its absence; there are no imitations and no sign of its influence on the saucer-brooch, largely because the intricate crafts of cloison- and filigree-work were apparently not practised among the Anglo-Saxon tribes in general. In class iii there are the two Kentish pieces from Milton, Berks., and some sadly mutilated remains from Leighton Buzzard, Bucks.[1] Alongside these, however, there is an interesting group, consisting of the Woodbridge brooch,[2] the filigree disc from Stanton, near Ixworth, Suffolk,[3] the two discs from Bottisham, Cambs., the disc from Hardingstone, and the annular brooch from Welford,[4] both Northamptonshire sites. The Woodbridge brooch, not surprisingly, repeats exactly many of the characteristic traits of the Sutton Hoo jewellery, and in spite of the paucity of filigree-work amid all the wealth of the Sutton Hoo find, remarked upon by Mr. Kendrick,[5] the Stanton disc, also part of a brooch, shows features in the arrangement of the bosses in relation to the background, which are not to be found on Kentish pieces, an arrangement repeated not only on the Woodbridge brooch, but also on the Bottisham and Hardingstone discs. The many points of resemblance with Kentish work in these and in some other isolated finds of cloison-work (pendants, &c.) found outside Kent, which have hitherto naturally led to attribution to Kentish workshops are, in the face of the Sutton Hoo discovery, losing some of their significance. It seems we must be prepared to revise our ideas and acknowledge the existence of a late school of high craftsmanship in the eastern counties, the equal of and in some points surpassing that of Kent at its best.

(*d*) (i) *Buckles.* Here and there buckles comparable with the simpler types without a plate have been found outside Kent; one from Linton Heath, grave 9, associated with the large square-headed brooch figured by Akerman,[6] two applied brooches of 'Kempston' pattern, and a British terret, is of better work than the general run of buckles from Anglo-Saxon graves, but it is only with the type with shield-on-tongue (adopting Åberg's designation) that we can be fairly sure that we have to do with Kentish pieces. Good examples are known from Barrington and Cambridge; from Wheatley, Oxon., and Streatley, Berks.

(ii) The most interesting group in this connexion are those with a rectangular plate, decorated with gilded zoomorphic ornament in Salin's style I around a rectangular garnet setting. Known in some numbers from Kentish sources, outside Kent, apart from the Fairford example, they are mostly repre-

[1] For knowledge of these I am indebted to Mr. F. C. Gurney.
[2] *V.C.H. Suffolk*, i, 330, fig. 5.
[3] *Coll. Ant.*, iv, 162, pl. xxxviii, 2.
[4] J. Y. Akerman, *Pag. Sax.*, pl. xxxii, 2.
[5] *British Museum Quarterly*, xiii, 132.
[6] *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxxvii.

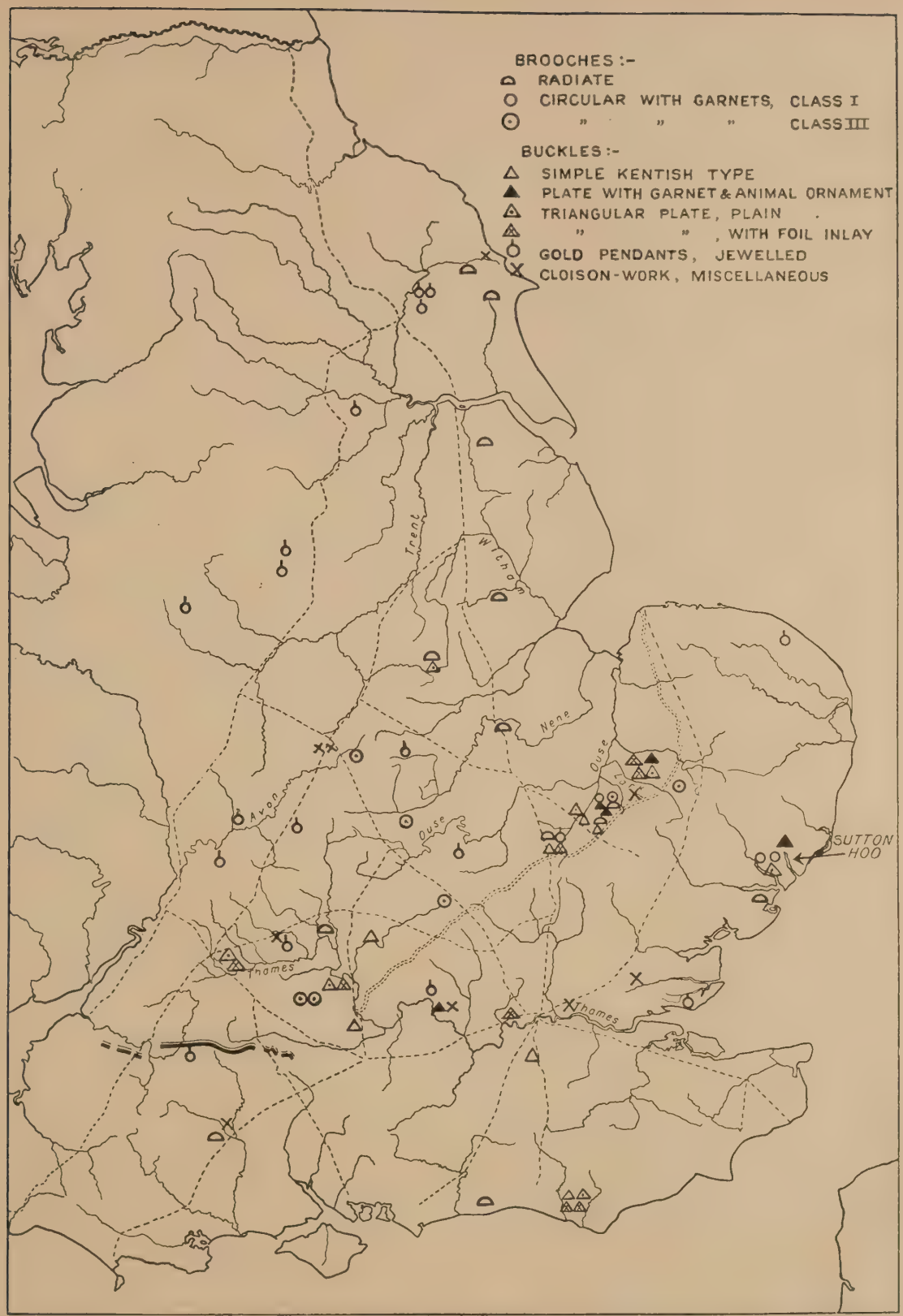


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Fig. 36. Distribution-map of jewellery of Kentish types and imitations found outside Kent and the Isle of Wight

sented only by their plates, but have a wide distribution, e.g. Barn Elms, Middlesex and Alfriston, Sussex, in the south; Barrington, Icklingham, and West Stow in the eastern counties; Long Wittenham[1] and Fairford in Wessex.

(iii) *with triangular plate.* (*α*) Undecorated examples are uncommon, Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, St. John's Cricket Ground, Cambridge, and West Stow, Suffolk; Market Overton, Rutland, and in a very late grave at Long Wittenham, Berks. (*β*) Specimens with foil-inlay occur at Croydon, Taplow, Little Wilbraham, Melton (Suffolk), and West Stow.

(*e*) *Jewelled pendants.* These are sufficiently well known not to call for further remark here except to state that apart from one or two moderately early examples like that from High Wycombe, Bucks.,[2] the majority belong to my final phase.[3]

(*f*) *Miscellanea.* Cloison-work from Essex (Forest Gate, Broomfield), Salisbury Race Course, Seamer, Yorks., Crondall, Hants, and other minor pieces, with much of the contents of the Taplow burial and objects from Asthall include most of the material, chiefly of seventh-century date.

The general impression conveyed by this distribution is at once the sporadic and to some extent spasmodic nature of the contacts with Kent (figs. 34 and 35). The earliest signs are from the period of the Kentish square-headed brooches, i.e. down to A.D. 550. The evidence suggests that the imitations are hardly earlier. There follows the Saxon adaptation of the design of the keystone-garnet Kentish brooch for the decoration of their own saucer brooches, the distribution of this practice coinciding fairly closely with that of the Kentish buckles with rectangular plates. Thereafter it becomes largely a matter of import until in the latest phase there is a widely diffused group of pendants, many of which are almost certainly imports; only a few, especially in Derbyshire (Mercia), have a non-Kentish appearance. Excluding Essex, which was in such close contact with the opposite shore of the Thames, the Cambridge region and Wessex are the principal borrowers, and except in the case of the pendants there seems to have been little or no demonstrable imitation beyond the period of the keystone-garnet brooches. The remainder are objects which show nothing inconsistent with Kentish work, and only what we have seen of the Sutton Hoo discoveries suggests that outside Kent there may have been artificers who were capable of turning out work equal or even superior to that of their contemporaries south of the Thames.

[1] National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.

[2] *V.C.H. Bucks.*, i, 195.

[3] Leeds, *op. cit.*, chap. VI.

NOTE ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF CRUCIFORM BROOCHES (Figs. 37 and 38)

In chapter V of *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* I drew attention to the predominant role played by the artificers of the Cambridge region in the later stages of the evolution of certain of the larger Anglo-Saxon brooches, and from the survey of the small-long brooches it becomes clear not only that that role extends farther back in time, but also that it was largely responsible for the various developments in other classes. Confirmation of this is provided by an intensive study of earlier groups of the cruciform brooches. Their progress from their earliest stage is marked, as demonstrated by Reginald Smith, Shetelig, Åberg, and Baldwin Brown, by various additions and exaggerations, not by any means always embellishments, the chief of these being a hypertrophic presentment of the muzzle of the animal-head on the foot and the addition of lappets.

Åberg's groups III and IV include the pieces upon which these changes appear, the differentiation of group IV being the addition of lappets. This distinction is, however, if intended to indicate time as the grouping would suggest, not wholly accurate or probable; on examination it proves to be largely a matter of convenience. Some regrouping is necessary before any completely satisfactory evaluation of the material is possible, because the addition of lappets is merely one criterion for such grouping and is not the most useful for the study of the type. There are many brooches in group III which have closer relations with the bulk of group IV, and contrariwise some brooches in group IV are too simple in other respects to merit inclusion in that group, if the group indicates time in its relation to form. This is proved by the many examples of extreme development of the animal's muzzle in group III to which close parallels can be cited from group IV. In short, the creation of a subdivision, embodying part of group III (without lappets) and part of group IV (with lappets)[1] would give a truer picture of the stage at which intensification of detail began to appear, and at the same time would serve to demonstrate the region in which that development took place.

The key to this change is to be found in the knobs. Throughout groups I to IV the original rounded knob persists almost unchanged even though usually shorn vertically in half in the later groups. Generally speaking it is not until group III that a change is introduced, quite mild in character at first; the same simple change can even be found on brooches placed by Åberg in group IV. In the latter group, however, the change proceeds to extremes and, without going into details, it may be said that viewed from this standpoint many of the brooches thus ornamented are contemporaneous with what I have called the 'florid' type (Åberg's group V).

[1] To be called IV a, the remainder to be classed as IV b.

Before examining the nature of this change it will be well for a moment to review the geographical distribution of such cruciform brooches belonging to Åberg's groups I–IV, as have retained the plain, round knob. Reference to the distribution of group I[1] shows a marked concentration of the simplest examples in the Cambridge region with a few outliers westwards; it is only the more advanced types that are to be encountered from the Wash to Kent and westward into the upper Thames valley.

A new map showing the distribution of plain-knobbed brooches of Åberg's groups I–IV[2] presents a somewhat different picture (fig. 37). Those belonging to group II are widely distributed, but in the Cambridge region they occur in greater intensity. Brooches of group III exhibit a similar concentration in that area; northwards and westwards they occur sporadically, two little groups appearing at Saxby and Carlton Scroop. With group IV the picture is changed. There is indeed still a solid block in the eastern counties, but there is now a slight increase in the midlands and only now does the cruciform brooch appear in any numbers in the East Riding of Yorkshire.

Meanwhile the change mentioned above was beginning to take place. At its first stage it usually only affects the middle knob. Starting as a mere nipple on the top of the knob, the addition grows until at times it puts the original knob entirely in the shade.

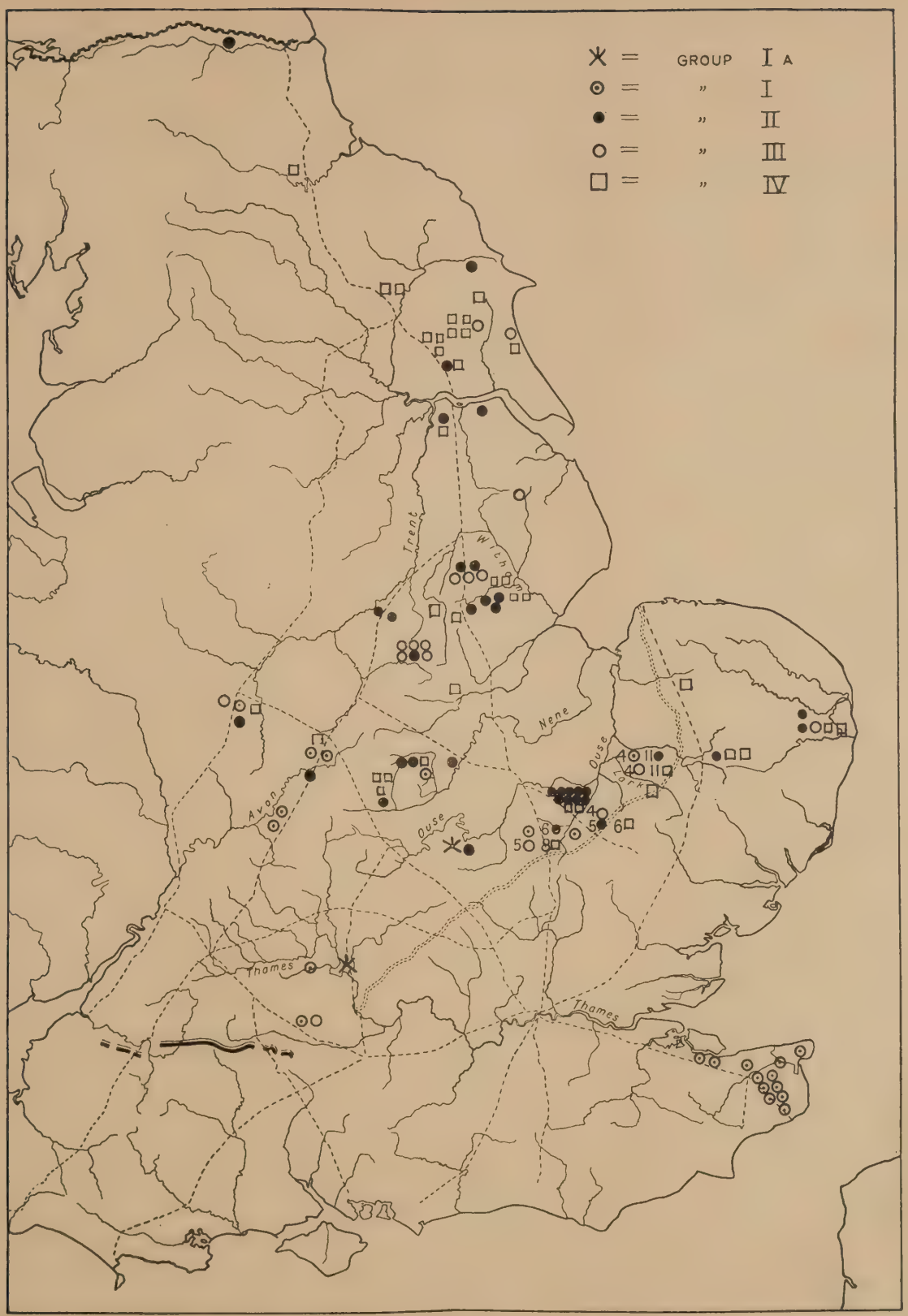
Curiously enough, the earliest examples do not come from the eastern counties, but from the midlands, where at Barton Seagrave there have been found two assigned to group I, while group II is represented at Brixworth and Glen Parva (the latter an advanced example in its group), besides one in Tyne valley. Only in group III does the change become prevalent and it is here that it becomes evident that Åberg's grouping may usefully bear recasting.

It will be seen at once from the map (fig. 38) that the simplest type of knob on brooches of group III (marked ●) is confined to the Cambridge region. It is only in group IV (marked ○) that the addition appears outside that region, that is, farther afield in East Anglia, in the midlands, and northwards to Lincolnshire, the East Riding, and the Tyne. Moreover it is the only form of ornamented knob that appears at all north of Lincoln. It may have been borrowed direct from the midlands, but, as proved by later borrowings in Lincolnshire, its source is by so late a period in the history of the brooch more probably the Cambridge region.

Of subsequent developments of the knob the next, an exaggerated nipple (marked ▲ and △), when occurring on brooches of group III is again confined to the Cambridge region; group IV thus decorated has a few outliers. The

[1] Originally published in *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, fig. 17.

[2] Several omissions in Åberg's lists, as well as new discoveries, are included.



Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

Fig. 37. Cruciform brooches: distribution-map of examples of Groups I–IV with simple knobs. Two marked ✱ are specially early types

first version of a crescentic knob (marked ◠ and ◠) only occurs on group III at Holywell Row; it belongs essentially to group IV and also has East Anglian and midland outliers.

The first appearance of the floreated knob, in reality composed of two animal heads (marked ◡ and ◡), adorns brooches of group III only in the eastern counties, and again in group IV except for a solitary outlier at Holdenby, Northamptonshire. The remaining developments only appear on the advanced forms in group IV; of them, the oblong and the advanced zoomorphic type (marked ▭ and ▽) obviously originate in the Cambridge region. The count for the enlarged crescentic knob (marked ⌓) is actually in favour of north Huntingdonshire and Lincolnshire, and this knob certainly has marked affinities with the knobs of the midland variant of brooches in group V, but, since the inspiration underlying this latter type seems to have emanated from the Cambridge region,[1] it is likely enough that the above superior count only marks once more the northwardly diffusion which I discussed in Chapter XI of *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*. Possibly the addition of the nipple went northwards along the same route, and, as was suggested in regard to material discussed in the same chapter, it was the disturbed political conditions in Deira and Bernicia towards the end of the sixth century that were responsible for certain changes in fashion exercising little effect on the north. This does not apply to every change, because some of the cruciform brooches in group IV show fantastic exaggerations of the animal head on the foot; but even so the most extravagant developments do not appear in the north. The break in intercourse or peaceful trade between the north and south, if break there was, took place before the florid brooches appeared.

NOTE ON THE DISTRIBUTION-MAPS OF SAUCER AND APPLIED BROOCHES

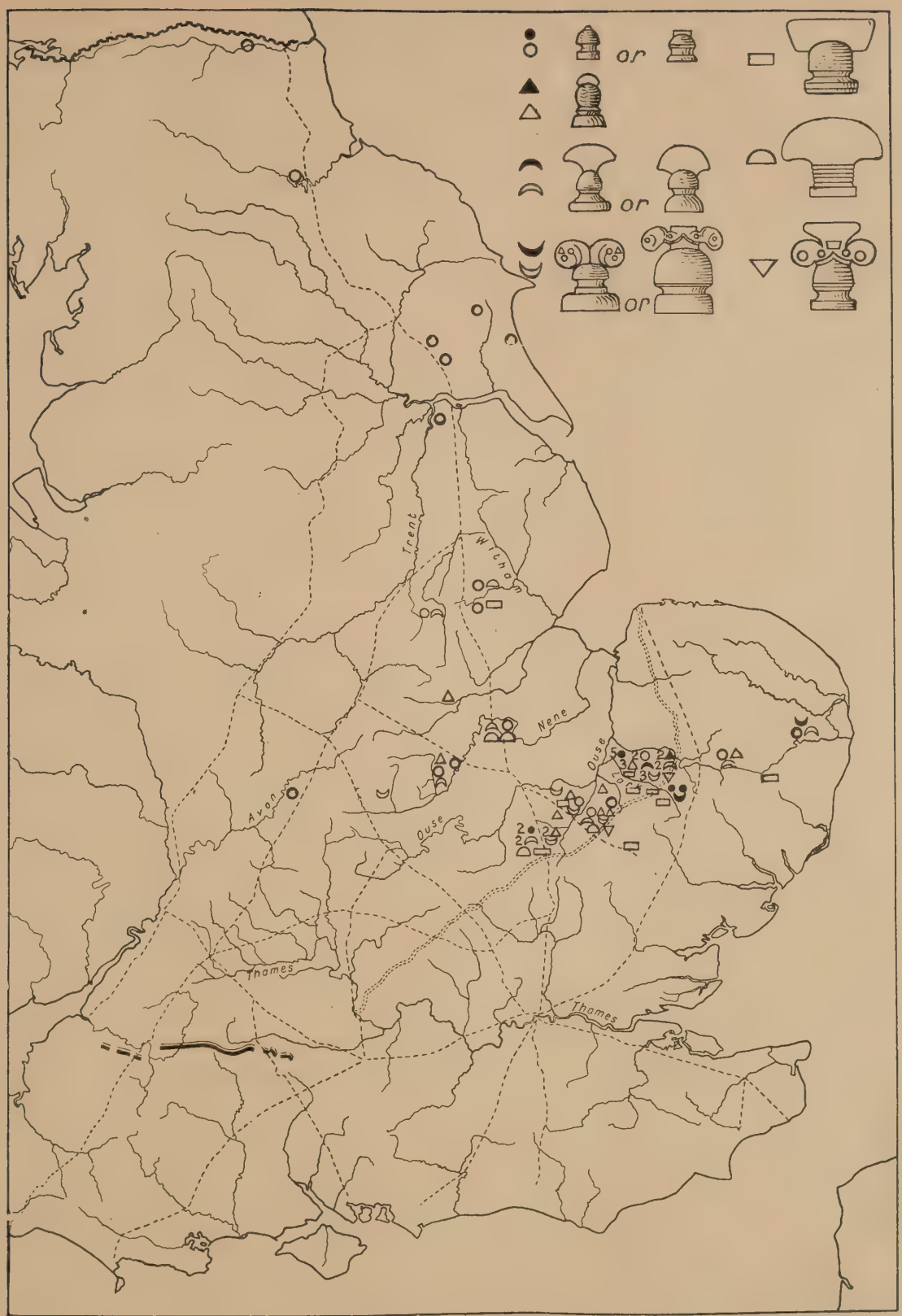
(Figs. 39 and 40)

In these two maps no attempt has been made to plot the whole of these two classes of brooch. For that the reader is referred to my original survey published in *Archaeologia*, lxiii, 159 ff., the purpose of which was to call attention to what at that time (1912) appeared to be a still widely held misconception about the area in which these brooches were current, and at the same time to suggest the deductions which might be drawn from the relative distribution of the two varieties.

Since that time, as is known, I have found myself compelled by the archaeological evidence to dissent entirely from the generally accepted view of the route of the West Saxon settlement,[2] and as a result of this conviction to modify my earlier interpretation of the material, which was based on a line of cleavage

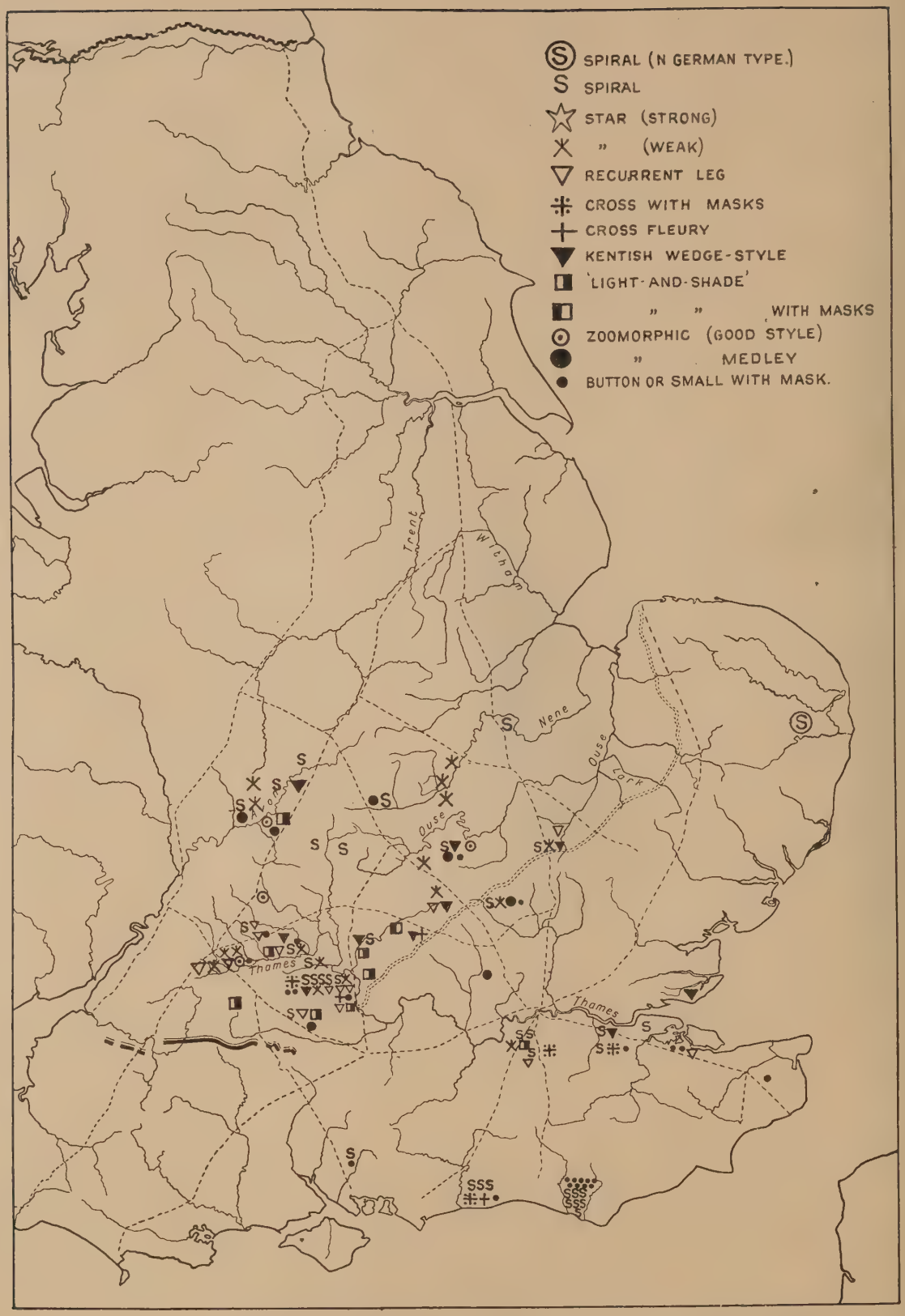
[1] See Leeds, *op. cit.*, 82, pl. xxii.

[2] *History*, x (1925), 97; *Antiq. Journ.*, xiii, 229.



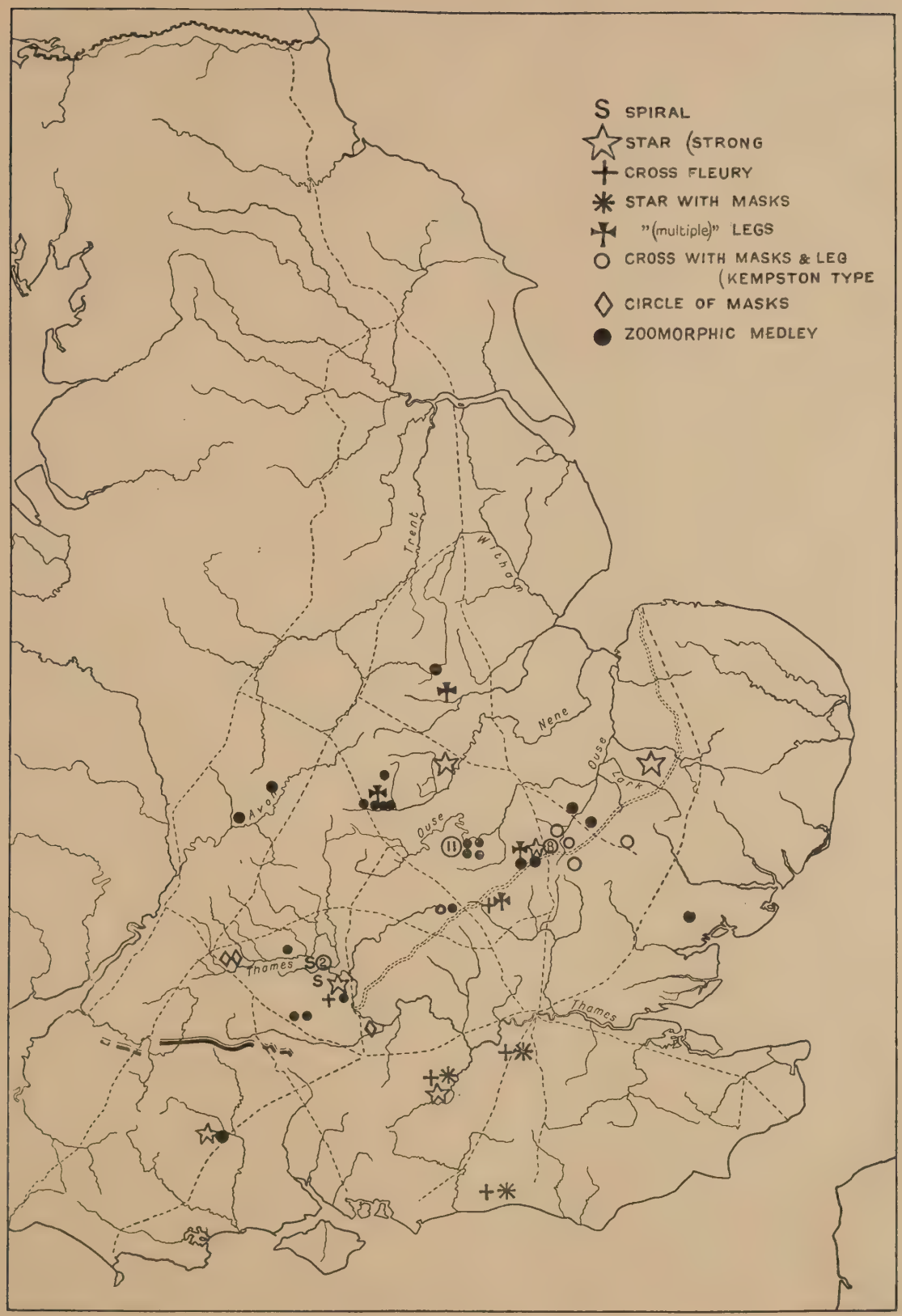
Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

Fig 38. Cruciform brooches: distribution-map of examples of Groups III and IV with decorated knobs (Occurrences in (i) the area north of the river Lark and (ii) in the Haslingfield-Barrington group of cemeteries are combined and numbered owing to lack of space. Shaded signs = Group III; open signs = Group IV)



Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

Fig. 39. Saucer brooches: distribution-map



Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

Fig. 40. Applied brooches: distribution-map
(Occurrences above one at any site are numbered)

which followed the water-shed between the upper waters of the rivers Thames and Ouse. Notwithstanding, the broad picture of the relative distribution drawn in *Archaeologia*, lxiii, remains in its essentials unaltered. New discoveries and omissions from the catalogue published in an appendix to that paper leave the position substantially the same as it was before, namely, that the saucer-brooch and geometric ornament predominate to the west, the applied brooch and zoomorphic ornament to the east of a belt of country in which settlements seem to have been sparse, thus arguing for some degree of separation between two regions, both of which must be regarded archaeologically as Saxon. In the case of brooches the form of which as here remains constant, it is probably impossible to draw any map which can give an absolutely true picture of their distribution. Nevertheless, the main criteria of differentiation still are (i) the two types of construction, casting and hammered work, (ii) certain varieties of decoration, and (iii) perhaps in the case of the applied brooches the additional criterion of size. For in this connexion it appears that the eastern area not only contains the majority of the applied brooches, but also that these are normally of larger diameter than those found in the west. Unfortunately a large part of the evidence for this is based upon specimens of which only the back-plate has been preserved. Consequently their value for assessing a distribution based on decorative motives might be regarded as negative. To judge, however, from those on which the embossed disc has been preserved, it becomes almost certain that the imperfect brooches belong to a large group on which zoomorphic ornament has been used in some form or other. This conclusion can immediately be put to the test by examining the applied brooches of the western area, wherein on a rough calculation 25 are of the larger diameter and 22 are small, the latter mostly with geometric patterns or semi-zoomorphic designs derived from geometric.[1] In the eastern area on the other hand there are only two small pieces geometrically decorated, both with star-design: all the rest, about 70 in number, are of the larger module and have zoomorphic decoration.[2] If again there be added to this latter count the corresponding majority of back-plates, almost invariably of the large size, which have lost their embossed discs, about 60,[3] the contrast becomes all the more striking.

It would be a task of some difficulty and would not be very helpful to attempt to classify all the varieties of decoration on any map: the multiplicity of symbols required for the purpose would simply cause confusion. In the new maps only the most important groups have been included, but even so it will be

[1] Twelve come from the south-eastern counties; on the type see *Antiq. Journ.*, xiii, 245 ff.

[2] Barrington B, 28 (*C.A.S. Comm.*, v, 18, pl. v, 1); Holywell Row, 47: Lethbridge, p. 25, fig. 11 F.

[3] The number registered in *Archaeologia*, lxiii. Many more have been found or noted since that paper was published.

noted that they still confirm the conclusions drawn in 1912, and in so doing will be found to corroborate the further conclusions to which the present survey will have led.

To one more point I would direct special attention. Since 1912, when I was only able to note one or two continental saucer-brooches with spiral decoration, others similarly ornamented, but constructed on a slightly different principle and found in the region west of the Elbe have been published by Roeder.[1] The only known example of this class imported into England comes from the extensive cremation-cemetery at Caistor-by-Norwich.[2] In this country the spiral design is perhaps the commonest and most widely diffused of any type. Apart from the Norfolk brooch it ranges from Cambridgeshire to the Midlands and beyond again to Wessex, where it is most numerous; it is also well represented in the lower Thames valley and on the Sussex coast. It must certainly be regarded as one of the earliest patterns employed on the English series, and its frequency in Wessex may again have a special significance for the final interpretation of the maps as a whole.

Roeder publishes other brooches (*loc. cit.*, pl. XVI), one of which of the applied type (fig. 2*a*) from Wester-Wanna shows a design which is that which forms the basis of the group of brooches distributed between Sussex, Surrey, and the upper Thames valley. The particular variant of the equal-armed brooch (of which various specimens have been found in this country) with which it was associated led Roeder to date it to A.D. 500 or later, thereby supplying a further guide to the approximate age of the English parallels and an indication of the dating of the better-executed geometrically ornamented brooches in this country, whether saucer or applied.

CONCLUSIONS

The distribution of various classes of ornaments has been submitted to a critical survey, and in each section some conclusions have been drawn. The true purpose, however, of such specific surveys must be the consideration of their mutual relations as elements in a complex system, not the treatment of them as isolated phenomena. In short, the question which has to be answered is that proponed in my introductory chapter, namely, What light can these surveys shed upon the tribal constitution of the occupants of the areas which they cover?

For this matter the case of east Kent may be dealt with quite summarily. As is well known, that district occupies a peculiar position in the archaeology

[1] F. Roeder, *Neue Funde auf kontinental-sächsischen Friedhöfen der Völkerwanderungszeit* (*Anglia*, Bd. 57, Taf. XXIV–XXV).

[2] *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, p. 39, pl. XI.

of Anglo-Saxon England. For, though in its initial phase its culture exhibits features that are common to all the settled areas, it soon passes beyond, and thereafter presents a culture markedly distinct and superior, by means of which it was able to exercise a limited influence over the rest of England, varying in intensity and scope, both regionally and temporally.

Nor, again, can much be added to our knowledge of the Saxon areas of Surrey, west Kent, and Sussex. In no case do they exhibit any outstanding features. They were naturally also continually subject to an infusion of cultural influences from their east Kentish neighbours, even though these are less marked than might have been expected. Certainly none of the above surveys contribute much. These areas evidently share with Wessex some types of small-long brooches like the cross-potent derivative (type *d*), and more especially the square-headed and other forms with lozenge-shaped foot. In that respect the evidence of contacts coincides with that afforded by certain varieties of the saucer and applied brooches, as I was able to show some years ago.[1]

The chief interest of the surveys lies in the opportunities they afford for isolating the constituents of the diverse human complex that was responsible for the settlement of the whole of the remaining area from Northumbria to Wessex. Any one who has closely studied, for example, the archaeology of the Cambridge region and of the midland counties to westward of that region, knows that it presents a serious tangle which at times seems to defy unravelment. Mr. Lethbridge, in his archaeological notes appended to his account of the cemeteries at Holywell Row, Burwell, and Little Wilbraham, has made important observations on the subject, extending the valuable work already done by Sir Cyril Fox in *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*. But there still, it would seem, remains something to be said.

In the first place it is essential to recognize that in any case one is hardly justified in speaking of any particular part of the whole area south of the Wash—it may also be partly true of the regions farther north—as specifically Anglian or Saxon *in the earliest days of the invasions*. Tribal distinctions based on Bede's account of the origins and of the nomenclature of the English areas do not stand in the face of the early archaeological evidence. Whether it be the equal-armed brooches found at Little Wilbraham, Haslingfield, Kempston, and Sutton Courtenay,[2] the saucer-brooch from a cremation-urn at Caistor-by-Norwich, the window-vases (*Fenstergefässe*) from Girton, Haslingfield, Kemp-

[1] *Antiq. Journ.*, xiii, 229 ff. In this connexion it may be noted that of the saucer-brooches found in Kent two, the one from Horton Kirby, the other from Faversham, should probably be regarded as imports from Wessex, with the products of which region they agree in style and fabric.

[2] F. Roeder, *Typologisch-chronologische Studien zu Metallsachen der Völkerwanderungszeit* (*Jahrb. d. Provinzial-Museums Hannover*, 1930, N.F., Bd. v, 27 ff.).

ston, and Stamford, all pointing back to the Saxon area west of the Elbe;[1] whether it be the widespread distribution of the early forms of the cruciform brooches, presumptively more Anglian than Saxon, but certainly common to both; or whether, again, it be the rapid rate of increase of the practice of inhumation as opposed to the almost universal cremation of the north German cemeteries immediately antedating the migrations (for many of the earliest objects in England come from inhumation-graves); from whatever aspect one looks at the problem, the whole area that is crossed by a diagonal from Norfolk to the Berkshire Downs is one of peculiar interest. It resembles a warp into which have been interwoven many coloured threads representing a multiplicity of contributions to a common fabric. Not all the cloth is, however, woven to one pattern: the threads vary in quantity and colour in different parts of this extensive region and on closer study there emerge from the fabric traits which may be compared with the combinations of weft by which the dark Scottish tartans are distinguished from one another. The distribution-maps represent the analyses of the several threads; it remains to discover how and where the combinations make their appearance, and at the same time to suggest—one can do little more—when and why the combinations were made.

One thing is perfectly evident. In the production and development of the small-long brooch the Cambridge region played a dominant role. The number of types which can on any count be deemed to have been produced elsewhere is very small. For the most part such contributions consist of mere variations of minor features like lappets. As already noted, one (*d*) of the cross potent derivatives looks more at home farther west, and the class with lozenge-shaped foot is one in which an equipoise seems to be struck between east and west.

There is, however, one point which the maps serve to emphasize. That is the importance of the south Cambridgeshire settlements. This group includes all the cemeteries in and around Cambridge, including Girton, Little Wilbraham, Linton Heath, and the Haslingfield-Barrington group, but excluding Exning and Soham. Little Wilbraham lies on a border-land and from some aspects links on to the Lark Valley group (so Fox and Lethbridge rank it), but I think its proximity to Cambridge brings it into line with the other settlements in the south of the county.

Reverting to the maps, we find that the balance lies with the southern group in almost every case. The marked exception is the panelled square-headed brooch, but even there the superiority only applies to the highly developed horned derivative, which, to judge by its associations, is late in time.

[1] Id., *Die sächsischen Fenstergefässe der Völkerwanderungszeit* (*xviii. Bericht der Römisch-germanischen Kommission*), 1928, pp. 149 ff.

Even in regard to the trefoil brooch the balance swings towards the southern group at all stages.

At this point it must be observed that, while the typological development is assured, there is no certainty about the exact date at which additions like the lappets were made or when the evolution of derivatives took place. In the former case there is the parallelism of the cruciform brooches, which indicates that the lappet made its appearance at a point about midway in the English history of the brooch, that is about the middle of the sixth century, and the numerous associations of small-long brooches with lappets with cruciform brooches of Åberg's group IV weighs the balance yet farther downwards towards the end of the century and beyond.

At the same time, recalling the warning uttered earlier in this chapter that the first settlers were more mixed than history would lead us to believe, it must be emphasized that this applies possibly with greater force to the Cambridge region than to any other part of the country.

In view of the fact that the prototypes of the English series of small-long brooches are better known east of the Elbe than in the province of Hanover and farther west, it is of course not impossible that in south Cambridgeshire these brooches represent *ab initio* part of an Anglian constituent of the early culture of that district. In that event these types naturally should have a longer history and a more vigorous life in the eastern counties than in the west, and the south Cambridgeshire settlements would above all be liable, as other archaeological evidence goes to prove, to be, as it were, refreshed by periodic Anglian influxes from or intercourse with the region farther north. The persistence of the small-long brooch in south Cambridgeshire lends additional support to the view already advanced that the make-up of the population in any given district must be judged by the dominant cultural element or elements that can be archaeologically determined as manifesting itself or themselves therein at any given time. That judgement must not, however, be determined by a name like Middle Angles, which we first find attached to a district over 250 years after its initial occupation, and some hundred years after the Mercian conquest of East Anglia, which was in itself a reinforcement of the Anglian element, and finally the best part of a century after pagan burial appears to have ceased and with it the possibility of detecting archaeologically the proportion of Saxon cultural survival.

Extending our examination of the maps westwards the next point that makes itself clear is that the boundary already set in the Cambridge district can be projected with some accuracy along the line of Via Devana to Godmanchester and beyond the Ouse along the Roman road leading from Godmanchester to Leicester. It does not, however, reach Leicester. When it approaches

the watershed between the tributaries of the Nene and the headwaters of the Warwickshire Avon in the neighbourhood of Rothwell, it swings due westwards to the Severn between the Avon and the tributaries of the Trent. This is the Anglo-Saxon line. No other fits all the evidence of archaeology with such exactitude. Westwards from Cambridge it demarcates extraordinarily closely the regions of the cruciform brooch on the one hand and of the saucer and applied brooches on the other. Naturally they cross one another's boundaries at various points. For example the saucer-brooch group reaches Woodstone, North Luffenham, and Market Overton, while the cruciform brooches find their way to Kettering, Holdenby, and Duston, but on neither side in great numbers.

It is around Cambridge that the admixture of cruciform brooches is most marked, a phenomenon which can I think be explained without great difficulty. In view of the mixed constitution of the early groups of settlers the simpler (*quâ* typologically earlier) types occur as densely round Cambridge as farther north, and this concentration persists becoming almost more intense as time goes on. Whatever tribal differentiation the variant types of brooches may or may not connote, the wearers of the cruciform brooch assert themselves even more strongly in south Cambridgeshire in the latest stages of the evolution of the type so far as it is known to us. This coincides with the distribution of the more exotic forms of the trefoil brooch and of the horned square-headed type, which latter, as noted by Lethbridge, is to be credited to the Lark valley.

The great dykes of Cambridgeshire have been interpreted by Sir Cyril Fox as possible tribal boundaries of the pagan period. He lays particular stress upon the Fleam Dyke as such. This view may well be tenable, but if correct, it only refers to some half-way stage in a southwardly thrust, which engulfed the Little Wilbraham settlement and 'anglicized' it, without, however, entirely destroying its natural associations with Cambridge. Mr. Lethbridge favours the Bran Ditch, situated at Heydon some miles farther down the Icknield Way, excavation in that ditch having revealed burials evidently those of Anglo-Saxon combatants. As a result of this shift of frontier he includes in the Anglian area Little Wilbraham, Girton, and the Cambridge cemeteries, restricting the Saxon claim to the group of cemeteries south of the Bourn brook. Archaeologically that shift of frontier does not alter the position appreciably. The simple varieties of small-long brooch still predominate in the southern group; in the development of the later types both Angles and Saxons played an equal part. The boundary between the tribes shifted as the fortunes and pressure of the Angles increased. For, if both the Fleam and Bran dykes fall within the same period, that is what they must signify. For a time the community of mixed tribal elements behind the Granta held fast, never indeed to lose its composite character during the archaeological period, though apparently the Saxon (round brooch)

element lost ground. The cemetery at Linton Heath is a remarkable instance of the tenacity of the Saxon hold, and in this connexion it is particularly interesting to note how in common with the Haslingfield-Barrington group it appears on the map (fig. 34) as the recipient and adapter of certain Kentish influences (the small Kentish square-headed brooch) which were ignored north of the Bran Ditch.[1] The same influence appears in Bedfordshire near the line of the Watling Street.

From whatever aspect one views them the settlements on the middle Ouse (Kempston) and in the upper Nene valley show the strongest affinities to the south Cambridgeshire group. If the latter present a mixed culture, so do the former, but in some respects these 'mid-Anglian' communities appear to have been less subject to Anglian pressure than their kinsfolk farther east. On the map of cruciform brooches there is actually a balance in favour of early types (group II): examples of group III scarcely appear at all. The Kempston settlement shows a void after groups I[2] and II. There are a few good pieces in the small-long class, with representatives of almost every type, just a poorer counterpart in this respect of Cambridgeshire. Outside Wessex these two districts are those in which the saucer and applied brooches occur in the greatest numbers. In particular this is the case with applied brooches of large size decorated with a medley of zoomorphic ornament. I have shown elsewhere that these contacts resulted in the diffusion of certain varieties of large square-headed brooches between the two districts and beyond as far as the Avon valley, while other varieties were shared by Cambridgeshire and Wessex.[3]

Wessex only yields a small quota of the small-long brooch, but among them are good examples of their respective classes. Where they are not, they are mostly rather poor things, as if the brooch had never been very popular or had fallen out of fashion. Two varieties have already been noted as prevalent. The few cruciform brooches are all early, and except for those late saucer-brooches which ape Kentish models both the saucer and applied brooches are generally of modest dimensions. The applied brooches also for the most part belong to different categories to those from Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire and show strong connexions with the lower Thames and Sussex.

Nevertheless the general facies of the contents of the feminine jewel-case in all three districts is identical. All that the differences signify is that the settlers in the upper Thames valley had pressed onwards and farther afield at an early stage and had thereafter lost touch to some extent with their kinsmen, who had chosen to halt on the way. Thus they had lost also the opportunity of adopting new fashions in jewellery which the shorter separation allowed the

[1] The pair from Freckenham (Suffolk) are pure Kentish imports.

[2] See Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, fig. 17.

[3] *Ibid.*, 89, fig. 20.

Nene settlers to share. At the same time Wessex severed by distance from Cambridgeshire and protected by what amounted to a small buffer-state on the north-east was for the moment spared from the Anglian pressure, whether it bore down from East Anglia on the one hand or on the other from north-eastern Mercia along the Jurassic ridge.

The early Anglian admixture is much the same in all three areas, the Saxon tinge is very strong in all, but proportionately greater in the west. The heavy 'anglicization' of south Cambridgeshire belongs essentially to the latter half of the sixth century and onwards.

Thus we have three culturally closely related districts south of the Via Devana–Avon line, and if the whole of this area from Cambridgeshire to Berkshire be viewed as one picture instead of as separate panels, it will be quickly realized that in an archaeological sense the lighter tones appear in the upper Thames group, representing a purer Saxon element, while as one's eye travels across the canvas the tones become darker with the increasing blend of Anglian pigments. Lethbridge believes the south Cambridgeshire group to have settled from the south-west. That is hardly credible. The early archaeological current undoubtedly flowed in the opposite direction. If, as I have maintained, the West Saxons reached the Thames from the north-east, a settlement markedly Saxon in composition south of Cambridge is certainly not barred by the presence of Angles farther north. Pressure from that quarter came later after the main Saxon wave had passed. Even though the Cam route were barred, the early Saxons who reached Kempston are kith and kin with those who settled south of Cambridge: the point at which their ways would part is Godmanchester where by the Via Devana or the Ermine Street the Cambridgeshire settlers would find easy access to their future homes.

Finally we come back to the question of peasant stock and we must look for the rank and file who, though they might be represented by the small-long brooch, are scarcely likely in those hard times to be the wearers of the elaborate or gilded forms, cruciform, applied, or saucer. There are always a certain number of poorly furnished graves in any cemetery; but most women have some ornament however modest. What other type or types of brooch can fit this humble need? It is the distribution of the large flat annular and the disc brooch that provides the answer to the question. But are these types, as suggested above, evidence of the need of women-folk, seized like the Sabine women, from among the natives of the invaded areas, or are they simply Anglo-Saxon creations on British soil? I suspect the disc brooches may after all be only the less pretentious expression of the circular brooch in vogue among the Saxon communities. What little evidence is available from associations points to the second conclusion (see Appendix II).

For the annular brooches, in whatever way their origins be interpreted, their distribution tells a plain story. On the one hand we have the pre-invasion type of Kent and Sussex and the small variety which is a speciality of the south-eastern counties and Wessex; their relative dates and their mutual affinities are certain. On the other, north of the Anglo-Saxon line, with of course some natural but unimportant diffusion southwards, lie the majority of the annular brooches. The evidence of their association strongly suggests that not before the latter half of the sixth century did they become a common feature of Anglian graves.

By these two brooch-types (disc and annular), massed as they are respectively north and south of the Via Devana–upper Avon line, may be judged the evidence already provided by all the remaining types.

The 'march' was not established in a day; beyond the *archaeological* period the test of its reality lies in other fields of research. On a rough estimate it may have been well recognized by A.D. 550 and was certainly so before the close of the century. Eventually it must have broken down when the Mercian power spread alike to East Anglia and the upper Thames.

Already Mr. J. N. L. Myres has published[1] some of the inferences that can be drawn from his valuable survey of Anglo-Saxon pottery. Therein will be found many points of coincidence with the interpretation placed here upon a more varied range of material. We now know that the pottery of a village was made on the spot and probably by members of each household using a common workshop,[2] and we know that from Cambridgeshire to Wessex there are features of decoration that constitute a Saxon style differing from that employed from Yorkshire to Suffolk.

In short, at every turn the tenacity of folk-memory is asserted. While the close dating of pottery is still in a somewhat tentative stage, the typological and decorative development of jewellery permits a more exact degree of chronological definition. The study of all the phenomena alike places beyond all question that, no matter how mixed was the composition of the first settlements, there must have been one dominant element at the outset, and it is that element which throughout the archaeological period can be seen adhering as firmly to its past as any peasant folk that can be studied in more recent ages. Slow to move, and nevertheless always moving a little forward, it combines a strong conservatism with a quiet inventiveness that is at the root of the soundest progress, one that the rush and restlessness of modern times has almost swept away.

[1] *Antiq. Journ.*, xvii, 424; *Antiquity*, xi, 389; *Norwich and Norfolk Archaeological Society*, xxvii, 185.

[2] Evidence on this point is to be published in the Third Report on the Anglo-Saxon village at Sutton Courtenay. See also *Antiquity*, xi, 396 and 399.

The maps taken as a whole evoke one or two final observations. They demonstrate more forcibly than any words how meagre both in quantity and quality are the remains of pagan Saxondom north of Lincoln. Large cremation cemeteries, it is true, have been found between the Humber and York, but similar cemeteries are known farther south, where there is a wealth of archaeological material, which the north cannot show. Even if such material were ever known in its early stages beyond the Witham, it appears to have later died out. There is none of that steady evolution, even for example in the cruciform brooches, which adds interest to the study of the east midlands and the Cambridge region. This absence of material in the northern kingdoms throws a flood-light upon their relative instability, economic as well as political. Indeed it shows how the northern invaders after the primary occupation during which the great cremation-cemeteries came into being, must have lost ground and never within the period of pagan burial regained it sufficiently to ensure for themselves more than a lean and hungry existence.

The maps also show how the east midland and the Cambridge region prospered to an extent which allowed a considerable expansion of trade and political intercourse, so much so that their influence, if not indeed an overlordship of one section or another, may at one time have even reached to Sleaford. Market Overton certainly seems to have been an outpost-settlement of that period. But this growing prosperity of the south resulted in a convergence of Anglian cupidity, a process, the beginnings of which are faintly reflected in the archaeological material, but to whose later chapters archaeology has little to contribute.

Postscript. The long delay (since 1938) in the appearance of this monograph in print has inevitably led to mental reservations, but only on minor points, and not such as to change the main conclusions. Indeed these have hardened in the past six years and have received particularly valuable corroboration from the important discoveries at Nassington, Northants, a report on which will appear before long in the *Journal*. From that report interesting additions can be made to the distribution-maps, especially that of the swastika brooch.

INDEX OF SITES

1. Birdoswald.
2. Darlington (Greenbank).
3. Staxton.
4. Boynton.
5. Kilham.
6. Uncleby.
7. Painsthorpe Wold.
8. Fimber.
9. Garton Slack.
10. Driffield.
11. Eastburn.
12. Londesborough.
13. Hornsea.
14. Sancton.
15. Elloughton.
16. S. Fernby.
17. Flixborough.
18. Searby.
19. Rigby.
20. Manton.
21. Bracebridge.
22. Brough.
23. Welbourn.
24. Caythorpe.
25. Carlton Scroop.
26. Ruskington.
27. Sleaford.
28. Quarrington.
29. Holme Pierrepont.
30. Bottesford.
31. Woolsthorpe.
32. Walsingham.
33. Hunstanton.
34. Fakenham.
35. Stapenhill.
36. Saxby.
37. Weasenham.
38. Wichnor.
39. Stapleford.
40. Market Overton.
41. Rothley Temple.
42. Twyford.
43. North Luffenham.
44. Stamford.
45. Leicester.
46. West Cotes.
47. Wigston Parva.
48. Woodstone.
49. Watling Street.
50. Kettering.
51. Rothwell.
52. Islip.
53. Baginton.
54. Princethorpe.
55. Emscote.
56. Welford.
57. Naseby.
58. Barton Seagrave.
59. Marton.
60. Brixworth.
61. Longbridge.
62. Holdenby.
63. Finedon.
64. Upton Snodsbury.
65. Alveston.
66. Newnham.
67. Duston.
68. Farndish.
69. Bidford-on-Avon.
70. Badby.
71. St. Neots.
72. Marston St. Laurence.
73. Elvington.
74. Kempston.
75. Leighton Buzzard.
76. Toddington.
77. Leagrave.
78. Luton.
79. Kings Walden.
80. Runcton.
81. Sporle.
82. Northwold.
83. Brooke.
84. Little Downham.
85. Lakenheath.
86. Kenninghall.
87. Eriswell.
88. Holywell Row.
89. Mildenhall.
90. Soham.
91. Icklingham.
92. West Stow.
93. Freckenham.
94. Tuddenham.
95. Ixworth.
96. Burwell.
97. Exning.
98. Girton.
99. Little Wilbraham.
100. Cambridge.
101. Newnham.
102. Linton Heath.
103. Trumpington.
104. Haslingfield.
105. Hauxton.
106. Harston.
107. Barrington.
108. Akenham.
109. Ipswich.
110. Dovercourt.
111. Inworth.
112. Upper Swell.
113. Rollright.
114. Lower Heyford.
115. Filkins.
116. Broughton Poggs.
117. Minster Lovel.
118. Cassington.
119. Summertown (Oxford).
120. Fairford.
121. Standlake.
122. Wheatley.
123. Bishopstone.
124. Brighthampton.
125. Chavenage.
126. Kemble.
127. Minety.
128. Frilford.
129. Abingdon.
130. Long Wittenham.
131. Lockinge.
132. Dorchester.
133. Bassett Down.
134. Wallingford.
135. East Shefford.
136. Aston.
137. Ilchester.
138. Harnham Hill.
139. Droxford.
140. Chichester.
141. High Down.
142. Morecombelake.
143. Chessell Down.
144. London.
145. Northfleet.
146. Higham.
147. Mitcham.
148. Croydon.
149. Ewell.
150. Horton Kirby.
151. Milton-com-Sittingbourne.
152. Faversham.
153. Sarre.
154. Ozingell.
155. Broadstairs.
156. Gilton.
157. Howletts.
158. Bifrons.
159. Guildown.
160. Crundale.
161. Alfriston.
162. Beddingham Hill.
163. Folkestone.

Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

Fig. 41. Key-map to sites principally of small-long, penannular, annular and disc brooches

APPENDICES

ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.S. Rep.	= *Associated Architectural Societies Reports.*
Abingdon	= E. T. Leeds and D. B. Harden, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Abingdon, Berkshire*, 1936.
A.J.	= *Archaeological Journal.*
Ant. J.	= *The Antiquaries Journal.*
A.M.	= Ashmolean Museum.
Arch.	= *Archaeologia.*
A.-S. Guide	= *British Museum. Guide to the Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, 1925.
B.B.	= G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England.*
B.M.	= British Museum.
C.A.S. Comm.	= *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Communications.*
Coll. Ant.	= C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua.*
Fox	= Cyril Fox, *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region.*
Girton	= E. J. Hollingworth and M. M. O'Reilly, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Girton College, Cambridge* (Cambridge University Press, 1925).
Hull Mus. Publ.	= *Hull Museum Publications.*
J.B.A.A.	= *Journal of the British Archaeological Association.*
J. Northants N.H.S. and F.C.	= *Journal of the Northamptonshire Natural History Society and Field Club.*
Leeds, A.A.-S.S.	= E. T. Leeds, *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements.*
Leeds, E.A.-S.A. and A.	= E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology.*
Lethbridge	= *Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 4to Publications, New Series, III.
Rec. Bucks.	= *Records of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society.*
Pag. Sax.	= J. Y. Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom.*
Proc. Soc. Ant.	= *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.*
Proc. Dorset N.H. and A.S.	= *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society.*
Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst.	= *Proceedings of the Suffolk Archaeological Institute.*
S.O.	= The Hon. R. C. Neville, *Saxon Obsequies.*
V.C.H.	= *The Victoria County Histories.*

APPENDIX I

Trefoil: (Map, figs. 6 and 7)

(*a*) With triangular foot

Birdoswald	B.B., iii, pl. xxxvii, 10	(Newcastle)	1
Brough	V.C.H. Notts., i. 203, fig.		1
South Ferriby (from cremation)	Hull Mus. Publ., no. 39, p. 3, pl. xxx, 2	(Hull)	1
Nottinghamshire?		(Newark)	1
Bracebridge		(Lincoln)	1
Brixworth		(Northampton)	1
,,		(,,)	1
Duston (foot broken)		(,,)	1
Sleaford, grave 169	Arch., l. 400	(B.M.)	2
Lakenheath		(Cambridge)	1
West Stow	Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst., i. 328, pl. viii, 4	(Bury St. Edmunds)	2

Little Wilbraham, grave 122	S.O., pl. IX	(Audley End)	2
Haslingfield	B.M. 74, 3-28-8	(B.M.)	1
Barrington A	A.M., 1909, 270	(A.M.)	1
,, ,,	,, 270*a*	(,,)	1
,, ,,	,, 270*b* (round notch)	(,,)	1
,, ,, B		(Cambridge)	2
,, ,, grave 3	C.A.S. Comm., v. 15	(,,)	1
Linton Heath, grave 84	A.J., xi. 111	(Audley End)	2
Kempston	V.C.H. Beds., i, col. pl.; A.-S. Guide, fig. 82*a*; B.B., pl. XLII.	(B.M.)	2
Abingdon (cremation)	Abingdon, pl. IV*d*	(A.M.)	2
,, grave 46	,, p. 39, pl. X	(Abingdon)	1
High Down, grave 26	Arch., liv. 377; B.B., iii, pl. XXXVII, 9	(Worthing)	1
(*b*) With sub-triangular foot:			
Staxton	Hull Mus. Publ., no. 195, pl. IX	(Hull)	1
Holme Pierrepont	V.C.H. Notts., i. 196, fig.	(B.M.)	1
Sleaford, grave 32	Arch., l. 390	(,,)	1
,, ,, 55	,, ,, 392	(,,)	1
,, ,, 65	,, ,, 392	(,,)	1
,, ,, 155	,, ,, 399	(,,)	1
,, ,, 209	,, ,, 403	(,,)	2
Stapenhill	V.C.H. Staffs., i. 200, fig. 1; Trans. Burton-on-Trent N.H. and Arch. Soc., i. 161, pl. VII, 12	(Burton-on-Trent)	2
Wichnor	V.C.H. Staffs., i. 205, fig. 5	(,, ,,)	1
Longbridge	? Proc. Soc. Ant., 2 S., vii. 79, no. 7	(B.M.)	1
Baginton (foot imperfect)		(Coventry)	1
,, (,, ,,)		(,,)	1
Watling Street	Pag. Sax., pl. XVIII, 3	(Rugby)	2
North Luffenham	A.A.S. Rep., xxvi. 257, fig. 1*c*	(Oakham)	1
Holdenby	J. Northants N.H.S. and F.C., xi. 4, pl. II, fig. 30*a-b*	(Northampton)	2
,,	J. Northants N.H.S. and F.C., xi. 4, pl. II, fig. 46*a-b*	(Northampton)	2
Duston		(,,)	1
,, (foot broken)		(,,)	1
Kempston	A.A.S. Rep., vii. 288	(B.M.)	1
St. Neots	V.C.H. Hunts., i. 377, fig. 20		1
Runcton		(Private)	1
Exning		(Cambridge)	1
Lakenheath		(,,)	1
,, (foot missing)		(B.M.)	1
West Stow		(Bury St. Edmunds)	1
Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, grave 3	A.M., 1909, 472*a*	(A.M.)	1
? Cambridgeshire	(Ransom Coll.)	(Cambridge)	1
Girton, cremation		(,,)	1
,, grave 45	Girton, p. 10	(,,)	2
,, ,, 71	,, p. 11, pl. II; Fox, pl. XXXIV, 3	(,,)	1
Little Wilbraham, grave 164	S.O., pl. V	(Audley End)	2

Little Wilbraham, grave 168	S.O., pl. v	(Audley End)	2
„ „ „ 182	„ pl. i	(„)	1
Haslingfield		(Cambridge)	1
„ (foot broken)		(B.M.)	1
„	B.M. 74, 3-26-6	(„)	1
Barrington B	C.A.S. Comm., xxxv. 143, pl. v *d*	(Cambridge)	1

(*c*) With crescentic foot:

Lincolnshire?	(Ingram Coll.)	(Grantham)	1
Sleaford, grave 134	Arch., l. 397	(B.M.)	1
Bidford-on-Avon, grave 181	„ lxxiv. 279, 287, pl. lvii *b*	(Stratford-on-Avon)	1
Naseby Field	B.M., 1907, 12-5-2	(B.M.)	1
Brixworth		(Northampton)	2
Marston St. Lawrence	Arch., xxxiii. 331, pl. xiii, 2 (with pyramidal bow)	(Northampton)	1
Duston		(„)	1
„		(„)	1
Islip	(Proc. Soc. Ant., ix. 90?)[1]	(„)	2
Exning		(Cambridge)	2
Holywell Row, grave 89	Lethbridge, p. 39, fig. 18, c 2	(„)	1
Near Mildenhall	A.M., 1909, 415	(A.M.)	1
? Suffolk		(Private)	1
Girton, grave 54	Girton, p. 11; Fox, pl. xxxiv, 4	(Cambridge)	2
Little Wilbraham, grave 81	S.O., pl. vi	(Audley End)	2
„ „ „ 164	„ pl. v	(„)	1
„ „	C.A.S. Comm., xxix. 97, fig. 1	(Cambridge)	1
Haslingfield		(A.M.)	2
Barrington A	A.M., 1909, 288; Leeds, A.A.-S.S., fig. 14, upper row, no. 4	(A.M.)	1
Kings Walden	Proc. Soc. Ant., xxv. 185, fig. 2		1
Brighthampton, grave 20	Arch., xxxviii. 86; B. Salin, Altgermanische Thierornamentik, fig. 165	(A.M.)	2
Filkins (Jan. 1864)	A.M., 1909, 497	(„)	2

(*d*) Late, with round notch:

Baginton		(Coventry)	1
Marston St. Lawrence	Arch., xxxiii. 331, pl. xiii, 4	(Northampton)	1
Duston		(„)	2
„		(„)	1

(*e*) With trilobed foot:

Cambridge (St. John's Cricket Ground)		(Cambridge)	2
Haslingfield	J. de Baye, Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons, 48, pl. v, 4; Leeds, A.A.-S.S., fig. 14, upper row, no. 5; A.M., 1909, 240	(A.M.)	2

(*f*) With rectangular lappets:

Brooke	(V.C.H. Norfolk, i. 339)	(B.M.)	1

[1] 'Some longitudinal (*sic*) brooches.'

West Stow (head-plate imperfect)	Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst., i. 328, pl. VIII, 1	(Bury St. Edmunds)	1
" "	Proc. Suff. Arch. Inst., i. 328, pl. VIII, 5	(Bury St. Edmunds)	1
Barrington A, grave 2	Coll. Ant., vi. 156, pl. XXXII, 3	(Cambridge)	2

(*g*) With perforated, rounded lappets:

Watling Street	A.M., 1935, 620	(A.M.)	1
Barton Seagrave	(T. J. George, Arch. Survey of Northants (1904), p. 10)	(B.M.)	2

(*h*) Foot with pointed end and lateral lobes:

Islip	Proc. Soc. Ant., XXX. 117, pl. 1, 1	(Northampton)	1

(*i*) With middle lobe (head-plate) notched:

Duston		Northampton)	1

(*j*) With notched lobes and lappets:

(i) Plain crescentic foot:

Woodstone "	V.C.H. Hunts., i. 276, fig. 6	(Peterborough)	1
Little Downham	C.A.S. Comm., XXXV. 143, pl. 1 *c*	(Cambridge)	1
Holywell Row, grave 82	Lethbridge, p. 37, fig. 17 A	(")	2
Haslingfield	A.M., 1909, 234	(A.M.)	1
Barrington B	C.A.S. Comm., XXXV. 143, pl. V *a*	(Cambridge)	2

(ii) With notched foot:

Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, grave 3	A.M., 1909, 472	(A.M.)	1
Little Wilbraham, grave 9	S.O., pl. IX	(Audley End)	2
" " " 87	" pl. VII	(")	1
" " with cremation (not from grave 46)	" pl. IX	(")	1
Newnham, Cambridge	Fox, pl. XXXIV, 2	(Cambridge)	1
Barrington A	C.A.S. Comm., ii. 9, fig. A	(")	1

(*k*) With squared middle lobes and lappets:

(i) Rounded lateral lobes:

Exning		(Cambridge)	1
Kempston	B.B., iii, pl. XLII, 1	(B.M.)	1
Girton, grave 13	Girton, p. 6	(Cambridge)	1
" group B	" p. 18	(")	2

(ii) Notched lateral lobes:

Rothwell		(Northampton)	2
"	A.M., 1927, 632	(A.M.)	2
Kenninghall		(B.M.)	2
Soham, grave 7	C.A.S. Comm., XXXIII. 158, fig. 2, 1	(Cambridge)	1
Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, grave 4	A.M., 1909, 473 a	(A.M.)	1
Little Wilbraham, grave 20	S.O., pl. V	(Audley End)	2
Haslingfield		(Cambridge)	2
"		(B.M.)	1

Barrington A	A.M., 1909, 290	(A.M.)	1
„ B, grave 97	C.A.S. Comm., v. 28	(Cambridge)	1

(*l*) With lobes nearly fused together, pointed lappets, and crescentic foot:

Barrington	Leeds, A.A.-S.S., fig. 14, lower row, no. 4	(A.M.)	1

Cross Potent: (Map, fig. 9)

(*a*) Round notch:

Holme Pierrepont	(V.C.H. Notts., i. 196)	(B.M.)	1
Islip	T. J. George, Arch. Survey of Northants (1904), p. 16	(Northampton)	1
Hauxton	Fox, pl. xxx, 8	(Cambridge)	1
Sarre		(Maidstone)	1

(*b*) Bilobed or trilobed angle:

South Ferriby (with cremation; imperfect)	Hull Mus. Publ. no. 39, p. 3, pl. xxx, 4	(Hull)	1
Woodstone	V.C.H. Hunts., i. 275, figs. 3 and 12	(Peterborough)	2
Girton		(Cambridge)	1
Cambridge (Jesus Lane)		(„)	1
London (Tower Street)	V.C.H. London, i. 149, fig. 2	(B.M.)	1
Barrington B	C.A.S. Comm., xxxv. 144, pl. IV *a*	(Cambridge)	1

(*c*) Stepped angle:

(i) With triangular foot:

Greenbank, Darlington	A.M., 1909, 364–5	(A.M.)	2
? Lincolnshire	(Ingram Coll.)	(Grantham)	1
Westcotes, Leicester		(Leicester)	1
Brixworth		(Northampton)	1
Holdenby	Northants N.H.S. and F.C., xi. 4, pl. II, 31	(Northampton)	1
„	Northants N.H.S. and F.C., xi. 4, pl. II, 41	(Northampton)	1
Bidford-on-Avon	Arch., lxxiv. 279, pl. LVII, 1 *a*	(Stratford-on-Avon)	2
Soham, grave 12	C.A.S. Comm., xxxiii. 161, fig. 4 A, 1	(Cambridge)	1
Girton (with cremation)		(„)	2
„ grave 25	Girton, p. 10	(„)	2
„ „ 40	„ p. 9	(„)	2
Trumpington		(„)	1
Barrington A	A.M., 1909, 251 *a*	(A.M.)	1
„	„ 268	(„)	1
„	„ 289	(„)	1
Long Wittenham, grave 158	Arch., xxxix. 140; V.C.H. Berks., i. 232, fig.	(B.M.)	1
Fairford		(A.M.)	1

(ii) With crescentic foot:

? Lincolnshire	(Ingram Coll.)	(Grantham)	2
Leicester (Abbey Park)		(Ratcliffe Coll. Mus., Leics.)	1

Woodstone	Artis, Durobrivae, pl. LV		1
Brixworth		(Northampton)	1
Sporle	Pag. Sax., pl. XXXIV, 2; J. de Baye, Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons, pl. v, 5	(Norwich)	1
West Stow	Coll. Ant., ii. 166, pl. XL	(Bury St. Edmunds)	1
Little Wilbraham, grave 6	S.O., pl. I	(Audley End)	1
Haslingfield	A.M., 1909, 225; Leeds, A.A.-S.S., fig. 14	(A.M.)	2
,,	B.M. 75, 9-21-1	(B.M.)	1
Barrington B, grave 82	C.A.S. Comm., v. 26; Fox, p. 255, l. XXIX, 1	(Cambridge)	2
? Cambridgeshire	(Ransom Coll.)	(,,)	1

(iii) With lappets:

Sleaford, grave 232	Arch., l. 404	(B.M.)	1
Woodstone (round notch and pointed foot)	V.C.H. Hunts., i. 274, fig. 8	(Peterborough)	1
Girton, group B	Girton, p. 18	(Cambridge)	2
Little Wilbraham, grave 32	S.O., pl. 7	(Audley End)	2
,, ,, ,, 54	,, pl. 6	(,,)	1
Linton Heath, grave 84	A.J., xi. 111	(,,)	1

Cross Potent (derivatives): (Map, fig. 12)

(*a*) Head-plate with rebated upper corners and basal notches:

(i) With triangular foot and two perforations:

Rothwell	A.M., 1927, 631	(A.M.)	2
,,	C.A.S. Comm., xx. 63, pl. VII	(Cambridge)	2
Near Cambridge	B.M. 82, 3-21-14	(B.M.)	1
Haslingfield	A.M., 1909, 230; Leeds, A.S.-S.S., fig. 14, upper row, no. 2	(A.M.)	2

(ii) With crescentic foot and two perforations:

Holywell Row, grave 90	Lethbridge, p. 42, fig. 20, 4	(Cambridge)	1
Soham, grave 12	C.A.S. Comm., xxxiii. 161, fig. 4 A, 2	(,,)	1
Haslingfield	A.M., 1909, 228	(A.M.)	1

(iii) Unperforated:

Woodstone (with hammer-head foot)	V.C.H. Hunts., i. 274, fig. 5	(Peterborough)	1
Duston (with sub-triangular foot)		(Northampton)	1

(iv) With lappets and two perforations:

Little Wilbraham, grave 182	S.O., pl. 10	(Audley End)	1

(*b*) Head-plate with rebated upper corners; basal notches eliminated and no perforations:

(i) Triangular or rounded foot:

Market Overton		(Oakham)	1
,, ,, (foot broken)		(,,)	1
Northwold		(B.M.)	1
Lakenheath	B.M., 1910, 10-28-6	(,,)	1
Holywell Row, grave 89	Lethbridge, p. 39, fig. 18, C 1	(Cambridge)	1

(ii) With lappets:

Girton	N. Åberg, Anglo-Saxons in England, fig. 92, bottom row, no. 1	(Cambridge)	2

(*c*) Head-plate with four rebated corners and four perforations:

(i) With triangular foot:

Rothwell	C.A.S. Comm., xx. 63, pl. VII	(Cambridge)	2
Linton Heath, grave 40	A.J., xi. 104	(Audley End)	1
Fairford (foot broken)		(A.M.)	1

(ii) With crescentic foot and curved lappets:

Girton, grave 71	Girton, p. 10, pl. II	(Cambridge)	2
,, (1881)		(,,)	2
Little Wilbraham, grave 79	S.O., pl. VII	(Audley End)	2
Barrington B	C.A.S. Comm., xxxv. 143, pl. v*b*	(Cambridge)	2

(*d*) Head-plate with lateral and basal notches:

(i) With triangular foot:

Little Wilbraham, grave 89	S.O., pl. I	(Audley End)	1
Linton Heath, grave 14	A.J., xi. 99	(,,)	1
Long Wittenham, grave 63	A.M., 1896–1908, Pr. 452; Arch., xxxviii. 342; V.C.H. Berks., i. 232	(A.M.)	1
,, ,, ,, 96	Arch., xxxviii. 346; V.C.H. Berks., i. 232	(,,)	2
Fairford	Leeds, A.A.-S.S., fig. 14, lower row, no. 5	(,,)	1
Chichester	(Fenton Coll., 1927)	(B.M.)	1

(ii) With crescentic foot:

Kempston	A.-S. Guide, fig. 82; B.B., iii, pl. XLII, 1	(,,)	2
,,		(Bedford)	2

Cross Pattee: (Map, fig. 17)

(*a*) Cross pattee:

Haslingfield	B.M. 75, 9–12–3 and 4	(B.M.)	2
Barrington B	(Foster Bequest, 1889; not a pair); Fox, p. 255, pl. xxx, 6	(Cambridge)	2
Linton Heath, grave 98	A.J., xi. 113	(Audley End)	1
Wallingford, grave 11	Berks. Arch. Journ., xlii. 97, pl. III (not a pair)	(A.M.)	2
Baginton		(Coventry)	1
,,		(,,)	1
,,		(,,)	1
,,		(,,)	1

(*b*) 'Military Cross' head-plate:

Sleaford, grave 32	Arch., l. 390	(B.M.)	1
North Luffenham	A.A.S. Rep., xxvii. 225, pl. IV, 5	(Oakham)	1
Cambridge (St. John's Cricket Ground)		(Cambridge)	1
Haslingfield		(,,)	1

(*c*) Cross pattee formee:

South Ferriby (with cremation; imperfect)	Hull. Mus. Publ., no. 39, p. 3, pl. xxx, 3	(Hull)	1
North Luffenham	A.A.S. Rep., xxvii. 225, pl. IV, 4	(Oakham)	1
Westcotes, Leicester		(Leicester)	1

Rothwell	C.A.S. Comm., xx. 63, pl. VII	(Cambridge)	1
Islip		(Drayton House, Kettering)	1
Bidford-on-Avon	Arch., lxxiv. 279, pl. LVII, 1*d*	(Stratford-on Avon)	2
Kempston		(Bedford)	1
Haslingfield	A.M., 1909, 229; Leeds, A.A.-S.S., fig. 14, upper row, no. 1	(A.M.)	1
Barrington B	C.A.S. Comm., xxxiii. 143, pl. VI*f*	(Cambridge)	1
Alveston (with animal-head foot)		(Stratford-on-Avon)	1
Bifrons	B.B., pl. xxxv, 9	(Bifrons House)	1
Upton Snodsbury (imperfect; with lappets)	A.J., xxiv. 351; V.C.H. Worcs., i. 229, coloured plate, figs. 7–8	(Worcester)	2

(*d*) Square-headed without slits:

(i) With four perforations:

Driffield (foot broken)		(York)	1
Sleaford, grave 1	Arch., l. 389	(B.M.)	1
„ „ 168	„ 400	(„)	2
Saxby	V.C.H. Leics., i. 234, pl. IV	(Stoke-on-Trent)	1
Holywell Row, grave 53	Lethbridge, p. 30, pl. 17, B1	(Cambridge)	2
Little Wilbraham, grave 53	S.O., pl. II	(Audley End)	1
Haslingfield	A.M., 1886, 1372	(A.M.)	1
Bifrons (with false slits)	B.B., iii, pl. xxxv, 13	(Bifrons House)	1

(ii) With two perforations:

Barrington B	(Conybeare Coll.)	(Cambridge)	1
Morecombelake	Proc. Dorset N.H. and A.S., liii. 147, pl. ⟨3⟩	(Dorchester?)	1

(*e*) Square-topped head with basal notches:

(i) With two perforations:

Londesborough		(Hull)	1
Sleaford, grave 2	Arch., l. 389	(B.M.)	1
„ „ 66	„ „ 392	(„)	1
„ „ 97	„ „ 394	(„)	2
„ „ 126	„ „ 396	(„)	2
„ „ 143	„ „ 398	(„)	1
„ „ 212	„ „ 403	(„)	2
Holdenby		(Northampton)	1
Baginton		(Coventry)	1
Holywell Row, grave 39	Lethbridge, p. 22, fig. 10, A2	(Cambridge)	1
Girton, grave 11	Girton, p. 9	(„)	1
„ „ 33	„ p. 10	(„)	1
Near Cambridge	B.M. 82, 3–12–13	(B.M.)	1
Barrington B, grave 25	C.A.S. Comm., v. 18	(Cambridge)	1
Linton Heath		(Audley End)	1
Mitcham (with false slits)	Proc. Soc. Ant., xxviii. 232, fig. 1*b*	(?)	2

(ii) Unperforated:

Sleaford, grave 32	Arch., l. 390	(B.M.)	1
„ „ 97	„ „ 394	„	2
Carlton Scroop		(Grantham)	1

North Luffenham	(Mrs. Morris Coll.)	(Oakham)	2
Brixworth		(Northampton)	1
,,		(,,)	1
Holdenby	J. Northants N.H.S. and F.C., xi. 3, pl. 1, fig. 11 *a–b*	(Northampton)	2
Duston (crescentic foot)		(,,)	1
Baginton (wide, triangular foot)		(Coventry)	1
,,		(,,)	1
? Huntingdonshire		(Huntingdon)	1
Little Wilbraham, 28	S.O., pl. 10	(Audley End)	1
Haslingfield (imperfect head-plate)		(Cambridge)	1
Broughton Poggs	A.M., 1909, 490	(A.M.)	2

(iii) With basal notches and lappets:

(*a*) With two perforations:

Sleaford, grave 43	Arch., l. 391	(B.M.)	1
Little Wilbraham, grave 173	S.O., pl. v	(Audley End)	1
Haslingfield	A.M., 1909, 226	(A.M.)	2
Barrington B, grave 85	C.A.S. Comm., v. 26	(Cambridge)	2
,, (imperfect foot)		(,,)	1

(*β*) Unperforated:

Woodstone	V.C.H. Hunts., i. 272, fig. 4	(Peterborough)	1
† Little Wilbraham, grave 46	S.O., pl. 1	(Audley End)	2
Mitcham, grave 45	Arch., lx. 55, fig. 7	(Cambridge ?)	?1

Square-headed: (Map, fig. 19). Those marked with † are decorated with circlets (see p. 32).

(*a*) Long type:

(i) With triangular foot:

Sleaford, grave 2	Arch., l. 389	(B.M.)	1
,, ,, 141	,, ,, 397	(,,)	2
Longbridge (foot broken)		(,,)	1
North Luffenham	V.C.H. Rutland, i. 99, frontis., fig. 9	(Oakham)	1
† Saxby		(Stoke-on-Trent)	1
Westcotes, Leicester		(Leicester)	1
Duston		(Northampton)	1
Near Peterborough		(B.M.)	1
? Huntingdonshire		(Huntingdon)	1
Kempston	A.-S. Guide, fig. 82 *a*; B.B., iii, pl. xlii, 1	(B.M.)	2
,,	B.B., iii, pl. xlii, 1	(,,)	2
,,	,, ,,	(,,)	2
,,	,, ,,	(,,)	1
,,	,, ,,	(,,)	1
,,	,, ,,	(,,)	1
,,	,, ,,	(,,)	1
Weasenham	B.M. 52, 6–28, 5–6	(,,)	2
Lakenheath	B.M., 1910, 10–22, 5	(,,)	1
Exning		(,,)	2
† West Stow	Proc. Suffolk Arch. Inst., i. 328, pl. viii, 3	(Bury St. Edmunds)	2

	Girton, grave 40	Girton, p. 9	(Cambridge)	1
	„ (?)		(„)	2
	Little Wilbraham, grave 7	S.O., pl. 2	(Audley End)	2
	„ „ „ 53	„ pl. 1	(„)	1
	„ „ „ 69 (not a pair)	„ pl. 10	(„)	2
	Little Wilbraham, grave 143	„ pl. 5	(„)	1
	„ „	C.A.S. Comm., xxix. 95, fig. 1	(Cambridge)	1
	Cambridge (St. John's Cricket Ground)		(„)	1
	„ „ „		(„)	1
	Near Cambridge (small; foot missing)	A.M., 1886, 1371	(A.M.)	1
	Haslingfield	A.M., 1909, 227; Leeds, A.A.-S.S., fig. 14, upper row, no. 3	(A.M.)	1
†	„	A.M., 1909, 241	(„)	1
	„		(Cambridge)	2
	„		(„)	2
	„		(„)	1
	„		(„)	1
	„		(B.M.)	1
	Barrington A	A.M., 1909, 282	(A.M.)	1
	„	„ 283	(„)	1
	Barrington B, grave ? 45 or 50	Fox, pl. xxx, 7	(Cambridge)	2
	„	(Griffith Coll.)	(„)	2
	„	(Mrs. Foster)	(„)	1
	„	„	(„)	1
	„	„	(„)	1
	Inworth	V.C.H. Essex, i. 326, col. pl., no. 17	(Colchester)	1
	Probably East Anglia	B.M., 1927, 12-12, 19	(B.M.)	1
†	Long Wittenham, grave 63	A.M., 1869-1909, Pr. 452 a; Arch., xxxviii. 342	(A.M.)	1
	East Shefford (foot missing)	(Proc. Soc. Ant., xiii. 107)	(B.M.)	1
	Fairford	W. M, Wylie, Fairford Graves, pl. vi, 1		1
†	Harnham Hill, grave 36 (nielloed ornament)	Arch., xxxv. 263, pl. xii, 6	(„)	2
	Harnham Hill, ? grave 53	B.M. 53, 12-14, 83; ? Arch., xxxv. 264	(„)	1
†	Bifrons	B.B., iii, pl. xxxiv, 12	(Bifrons House)	1
	High Down, grave 74	Arch., lv. 213	(Worthing)	2
	Croydon	V.C.H. Surrey, i. 262, fig. 4	(Croydon Town Hall)	1
	„	„ „ fig. 5	(„)	1
(ii)	With crescentic foot:			
	Bidford-on-Avon	Arch., lxxiii. 102, pl. xiii, 1	(Stratford-on-Avon)	2
	„	„ lxxiv. 279, pl. lvii *c*	(„)	2
†	Baginton		(Coventry)	1
	Saxby	Trans. Leics. Architect. and Arch. Soc., 1863, p. 334	(Stoke-on-Trent)	1
	Rothwell	C.A.S. Comm., xx. 63, pl. vii	(Cambridge)	1
	„	A.M., 1927, 630	(A.M.)	1
	Duston		(Northampton)	2

Newnham		(Northampton)	1
Marston St. Lawrence	Arch., xxxiii. 331, pl. xiii, 6	(„)	1
Badby	J.B.A.A., i. 61, with fig.	(?)	1
Kempston	B.B., iii, pl. xlii, 1	(B.M.)	2
„	„ „	(„)	2
„	„ „	(„)	2
„	„ „	(„)	1
„	„ „	(„)	1
„	„ „	(„)	1
„	„ „	(„)	1
„		(Bedford)	1
West Stow		(Cambridge)	1
Exning		(„)	1
Haslingfield		(„)	1
Barrington		(„)	2
Cambridgeshire		(„)	1
Long Wittenham, grave 158?	Arch., xxxix. 140	(B.M.)	1
„ „ „ 152	„ 140, pl. xi, 9; V.C.H. Berks., i. 232	(B.M.)	2
Abingdon, grave 18	Abingdon, p. 34, pl. vii	(Abingdon)	2
East Shefford	(? Proc. Soc. Ant., xiii. 108)	(B.M.)	1
„ „	J.A.I., xlv. 116, pl. iii	(Newbury)	2
Filkins	A.M., 1909, 495	(A.M.)	1

(*b*) Short type:

(i) With straight-sided head-plate:

Bidford-on-Avon	Arch., lxxiii. 102, pl. xiii, 1	(Stratford-on-Avon)	2
Alveston		(„)	2
Baginton		(Coventry)	1
Watling Street	Coll. Ant., i. 36, pl. xxxviii, 7; Pag. Sax., pl. xxiii, 7	(Rugby)	1
North Luffenham	A.A.S. Rep., xxvii. 225, pl. iii, 12	(Oakham)	1
„ „	„ „ 226, pl. iv, 2	(„)	1
Toddington	(? Proc. Soc. Ant., vi. 186; x. 37)	(Bedford)	2
Marston St. Lawrence	Arch., xxxiii. 331, pl. xiii, 5	(Northampton)	1
West Stow		(Bury St. Edmunds)	1
Haslingfield	B.M. 74, 2–26, 9	(B.M.)	1
„	B.M. 75, 9–21, 2	(„)	2
Barrington A	A.M., 1909, 270*c*	(A.M.)	1
„	„ 303	(„)	1
Fairford	W. M. Wylie, Fairford Graves, p. 15, pl. vi, 2	(A.M.)	1
„	„ „ „ pl. vi, 1	(?)	1
„	„ „ „	(A.M.)	1

(ii) With concave-sided head-plate:

Searby	Lincs. N. and Q., xii. 68, pl.	(Lincoln)	2
Baginton		(Coventry)	1
Leighton Buzzard (with crescentic foot)		(B.M.)	1

Little Wilbraham, grave 28	S.O., pl. 10	(Audley End)	1
Haslingfield	B.M. 74, ?	(B.M.)	2
Barrington A	A.M., 1909, 279	(A.M.)	2
„ B (not an exact pair)	C.A.S. Comm., xxxv. 144, pl. VI, *c–a*	(Cambridge)	2
(*c*) With lappets:			
North Luffenham	A.A.S. Rep., xxvi. 250, fig. 1*a*	(Oakham)	1
† Badby	J.B.A.A., i. 61, with fig.	(?)	1
Soham	B.M. 73, 7–18–6; Fox, p. 263	(B.M.)	1
East Shefford	? P.S.A., xiii. 108	(„)	1

Square-head: panelled: (Map, fig. 21)

(*a*) Full panel:			
Sleaford, grave 55	Arch., l. 392	(B.M.)	1
Kempston	B.B., pl. XLII, 1	(„)	2
? Suffolk		(Private)	1
Holywell Row, grave 79	Lethbridge, 19, fig. 16, 5	(Cambridge)	1
Little Wilbraham, grave 107	S.O., pl. v	(Audley End)	2
„ „ „ 173	„ pl. 1	(„)	1
Haslingfield	B.M. 75, 9–12–3–4	(B.M.)	2
Unknown		(Cambridge)	1
„	(Deck Coll.)	(„)	1
East Shefford	(Proc. Soc. Ant., xiii. 107)	(B.M.)	1
(*b*) Half panel:			
Saxby	V.C.H. Leics., i. 236, pl. IV	(Stoke-on-Trent)	1
Exning		(Cambridge)	1
Lakenheath		(„)	1
West Stow		(„)	1
„		(Bury St. Edmunds)	1
Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, grave 4	A.M., 1909, 473	(A.M.)	1
Girton, ? Group IV or V	? Girton, p. 11; Fox, pl. xxx, 5	(Cambridge)	2
Barrington B, grave (?)	? C.A.S. Comm., v.	(„)	2
„ „ 97	C.A.S. Comm., v. 28	(„)	1
Uncertain	(Ransom Coll.)	(„)	1
(*c*) False panel:			
Caythorpe		(Nottingham)	2
Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, grave 17	A.M., 1909, 476	(A.M.)	2
(*d*) Full panel and lappets (drooping):			
Little Wilbraham, grave 33	S.O., pl. v	(Audley End)	2
Barrington A	C.A.S. Comm., vii. 160, pl. XXVII, 2	(Cambridge)	1
„ (false panel; lappets as on trefoil-brooch knobs)	A.M., 1909, 302	(A.M.)	1
Sarre (false panel; lappets as on trefoil-brooch knobs)		(Maidstone)	1
(*e*) Half panel and lappets (rectangular):			
Holywell Row, grave 21	Lethbridge, p. 14, fig. 8, 2	(Cambridge)	1
Icklingham	B.M., 1927, 12–12–18	(B M.)	1
Little Wilbraham, grave 9	S.O., pl. IX	(Audley End)	2

(*f*) With circular excrescences at upper corners of head-plate, and lappets:

Sleaford, grave 143	P.S.A., xxv. 245, fig. 1; Arch., l. 398	(B.M.)	1
Kenninghall (false panel)		(A.M.)	1
Exning		(Cambridge)	1
Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham	A.M., 1909, 482; Leeds, A.A.-S.S., fig. 14, lower row, no. 1	(A.M.)	1
Freckenham		(Cambridge)	2
Little Wilbraham (cremation)	S.O., pl. 9	(Audley End)	1
,, ,, grave 111 (large)	,, ,,	(,,)	1
Trumpington		(Cambridge)	1
Linton Heath, grave 24	A.J., xi. 101	(Audley End)	2
Horton Kirby	(?) A.J., xxiv. 281 or xxv. 94.	(Maidstone)	1

(*g*) With horns on head-plate and lappets:

Farndish	V.C.H. Beds., i. 190, fig.; A.S. Guide, fig. 98	(B.M.)	2
Kenninghall (foot missing)		(,,)	1
Exning		(Cambridge)	2
,,		(,,)	1
,,		(,,)	1
,,		(,,)	1
Holywell Row, grave 13	Lethbridge, p. 10, fig. 4	(,,)	1
,, ,, ,, 37	,, p. 19, fig. 9, 4	(,,)	2
,, ,, ,, 79	,, p. 35, fig. 16, 4	(,,)	1
Lakenheath		(,,)	3
Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham	A.M., 1909, 475; Leeds, A.A.-S.S., fig. 14, lower row, no. 2	(A.M.)	2
Soham	B.M. 73, 7–18, 3–6; Fox, p. 263	(B.M.)	2
Near Cambridge		(Cambridge)	1
Barrington A	C.A.S. Comm., ii. 9, fig. 13	(,,)	1
,, B, grave 9	C.A.S. Comm., v. 16, pl. II, 1	(,,)	1

(*h*) With angled head-plate and lappets:

Emscote		(B.M.)	1
Kempston	V.C.H. Beds., i. 181, col. pl., fig. 1; A.-S. Guide, fig. 82; B.B., iii, pl. XLII, 1	(B.M.)	1

Square-headed, etc., with lozenge-shaped foot: (Map, fig. 24)

(*a*) Square-headed:

(i) With simple foot (those with small finial marked *):

*	Barrington B	C.A.S. Comm., xxxv. 143, pl. VI *b*	(Cambridge)	2
	,,	,, ,, pl. VI, 6	(,,)	2
*	Haslingfield	A.M., 1909, 242	(A.M.)	1
	Girton (cremation)	Girton, p. 23	(Cambridge)	1
	Luton, grave 28	Ant. J., viii. 182, 191, pl. xxx, 1–2	(Luton)	2
	Duston		(Northampton)	1
	Holdenby	J. Northants N.H.S. and F.C., xi. 4, pl. II, 40	(Northampton)	1
	North Luffenham	A.A.S. Rep., xxvii. 225, pl. IV, 6	(Oakham)	1
*	Westcotes (kite-shaped foot)	V.C.H. Leics., i. 224, fig.	(Unknown)	1

*	Long Wittenham, grave 104	Arch., xxxviii. 346; A.-S. Guide, fig. 79	(B.M.)	2
*	„ „ „ 142	„ xxxix. 142; „ „	(„)	2
	„ „ „ 164	„ „ 141; V.C.H. Berks., i. 232	(„)	2
	Frilford	A.M., 1886, 1422	(A.M.)	2
*	Fairford	Leeds, A.A.-S.S., fig. 14, lower row, no. 6	(„)	1
*	East Shefford		(B.M.)	2
	Faversham (kite-shaped foot)		(„)	1
	Bifrons, grave 6	Arch. Cant., x. 303	(Maidstone)	1

(ii) With large finials:

(α) Triangular:

Barrington B, grave 23	C.A.S. Comm., v. 18, pl. II, 3	(Cambridge)	2
„ „ 79	„ v. 25, pl. II, 2	(„)	2
Duston		(Northampton)	2
Wheatley	Proc. Soc. Ant., xxix. 51, fig. 2	(A.M.)	1

(β) Circular:

Tuddenham		(Cambridge)	1
(?) Huntingdonshire		(Huntingdon)	1
Newnham (Northants)		(Northampton)	1
Bidford-on-Avon	Arch., lxxiii. 102, pl. XIII, 1	(Stratford-on-Avon)	2
„ „	„ „	(„)	2

(γ) Crescentic:

Bishopstone	Rec. Bucks., v. 25	(Aylesbury)	2
Minety		(Cirencester)	1
Londesborough	B.M. 79, 5-24-127	(B.M.)	1
Stapleford	V.C.H. Leics., i. 234, pl. 1, 3	(„)	1
Watling Street	Pag. Sax., pl. XVIII, 8; Coll. Ant., i. 36, pl. XVIII, 9	(Rugby)	1

(*b*) With horned head-plate:

*	Barrington A	A.M., 1909, 286; Leeds, A.A.-S.S., fig. 14, upper row, no. 6	(A.M.)	2
	Linton Heath, grave 30	A.J., xi. 102	(Audley End)	2
*	Luton, grave 22	Ant. J., viii. 182, 189, pl. xxx, 3	(Luton)	1
*	High Down	Arch., liv. 373, pl. XXVII, 4	(Worthing)	1
	East Shefford		(B.M.)	1

(*c*) With rebated upper corners and lappets:

Woodstone	V.C.H. Hunts., i. 275, fig. 10	(Peterborough)	1

(*d*) With cruciform head-plate:

East Shefford		(B.M.)	1

(*e*) With trilobed head-plate:

	Woodstone	V.C.H. Hunts., i. 275, fig. 10	(Peterborough)	1
	Luton		(Luton)	2
*	Islip		(Northampton)	1
*	Watling Street	Pag. Sax., pl. XVIII, 1; Coll. Ant., i. 36, pl. XVIII, 8	(Rugby)	1

Square-head, Kentish type (outside Kent and Isle of Wight): (Map, fig. 35)

(*a*) Foot-plate with lozenge-shaped panel:

(i) With animal snout, original or copy:

Freckenham		(Cambridge)	2
Barrington A	A.M., 1909, 280; Leeds, E.A.-S.A. and A., pl. xv, top row, no. 3	(A.M.)	1
„ B, grave 21	C.A.S. Comm., v. 17, pl. iv, 2	(Cambridge)	2
Bidford-on-Avon	Arch., lxxiii. 102, fig. 6	(Stratford-on-Avon)	1

(ii) With rectangular, round, or triangular finial:

(*α*) Original or copy:

Luton	Ant. J., viii. 182, pl. xxx, 4	(Luton)	1
Barrington B, grave 21	C.A.S. Comm., v. 17, pl. iv, 2	(Cambridge)	2
Linton Heath, grave 21	A.J., xi. 100	(Audley End)	2
„ „ 39	„ 104	(„)	1
Bidford-on-Avon	Arch., lxxiii. 102, fig. 6	(Stratford-on-Avon)	1
Brighthampton	„ xxxvii. 391, fig.; Leeds, E.A.-S.A. and A., pl. xv, top row, no. 4; A.M. 1909. 513	(A.M.)	1
Abingdon, grave 117	Abingdon, p. 54, pl. xvi	(„)	2
Guildown, grave 113	Surrey Arch. Coll., xxxix. 22 and 37, pl. xv, 5	(Guildford)	1
Ilchester	V.C.H. Somerset, i. 373, col. plate, fig. 3	(B.M.)	2
Alfriston, grave 43	Sussex Arch. Soc. Coll., lvi. 24, pl. iv, figs. 1–1A	(Lewes)	2
„ „ 47	Ibid., 26, pl. iv, figs. 5–5A	(„)	2
High Down, grave 2	Arch., liv. 371	(Worthing)	1

(*β*) Imitation:

Barrington A	A.M., 1909, 290a	(A.M.)	1
Linton Heath, ? grave 18	A.J., xi. 100	(Audley End)	?1
Frilford	Arch., xlii. 437, pl. xxv, 7	(A.M.)	1
Fairford		(„)	1
„		(„)	1
Croydon	V.C.H. Surrey, i. 262, fig. 2	(Croydon)	1
„	„ „ fig. 3	(„)	1

(*b*) Foot with cruciform bar and rectangular finial:

(i) Original or copy:

Kempston		(Bedford)	2
Brighthampton	A.M., 1909, 513; Arch., xxxvii. 391, fig.; Leeds, E.A.-S.A. and A., pl. xv, bottom row, nos. 3 and 4	(A.M.)	2
High Down, grave 2	Arch., liv. 371; V.C.H. Sussex, i, col. plate, fig. 5	(Worthing)	2

(ii) Imitation:

Linton Heath, grave 72	A.J., xi. 108	(Audley End)	2

(*c*) Foot with vertical median division:

(i) Original or copy:

Droxford	Proc. Soc. Ant., xix. 128, fig. 5	(Winchester)	?1

(ii) Imitation:				
	Driffield	J.B.A.A., ii. 5; V.C.H. Yorks., ii, col. pl., fig. 7	(York)	2
	Harston	A.M., 1909, 317	(A.M.)	1
	Barrington A	„ 268 a	(„)	1
	„ B (with silver plating)	C.A.S. Comm., xxxv. 143, pl. VI *e*	(Cambridge)	1
	Mitcham	Proc. Soc. Ant., xxviii. 231, fig. 1 *a*	(?)	1
Swastika and cognate types (the latter are marked with an asterisk):			(Map, fig. 31)	
	Sleaford, grave 95	Arch., l. 394; de Baye, 61, fig. 16; A.-S. Guide, fig. 105	(B.M.)	2
	Market Overton (A. 18), with pair of flat annular brooches		(Oakham)	1
	Market Overton (A. 7 and A. 11)		(„)	4
	Melton Mowbray district?	Information from Mr. F. C. Cottrill.	(Leicester)	1
	North Luffenham	A.A.S. Rep., xxvi. 2, pl. IV, 8-9	(„)	2
	Woodstone	J.B.A.A., n.s. v. 347, pl. II *a–b*; Fox, p. 270; V.C.H. Hunts., i. 272	(Peterborough)	8
	„	V.C.H. Hunts., i. 272, footnote 2	(Mr. G. W. Abbott)	1
	Stibbington?	Information from Mr. G. W. Abbott, 1913	(Private)	1
	Islip	P.S.A., ix. 90, fig.	(Drayton House, Kettering)	2
	Kettering (Stamford Road, 1929)		(Kettering)	1
	Duston	P.S.A., xix. 310-11	(Northampton)	3
	Watling Street (fragmentary)	A.M., 1935, 618	(A.M.)	1
	Offchurch	V.C.H. Warwicks., i. 257, col. pl. no. 3; J.B.A.A., xxxii. 466, fig. 3	(A.M.)	1
	Baginton		(Coventry)	2
	„		(„)	1
	„		(„)	1
*	„		(„)	2
	Bidford-on-Avon	Arch., lxxiv. 279 and 286, fig. 4	(Stratford-on-Avon)	2
	Barrington A, grave VIII	Proc. London, Middlesex, and Surrey Arch. Soc., i. 53, pl. II, 4; Coll. Ant., vi. 158, pl. XXXIII; Fox, p. 251	(Cambridge)	1
	„	B.M. 76, 2-12-37	(„)	1
	Haslingfield	A.M., 1909, 220	(A.M.)	1
*	„	„ 242 a	(„)	2
	Little Wilbraham, 116	S.O., pl. 3	(Audley End)	2
*	„ „ 3	„	(„)	2
	„ „	Conybeare Coll.	(Cambridge)	1

APPENDIX II

ASSOCIATED GROUPS

SMALL-LONG BROOCHES:

Trefoil:

(*a*)	Little Wilbraham, 164	trefoil with foot as (*c*)
	Sleaford, 169	early florid cruciform brooch
	Girton, 71	pair cross potent (*c* ii); clasps
	Linton Heath, 84	cross potent (*c* iii)
	High Down, 26	annular (*d*)
(*b*)	Little Wilbraham, 182	cross potent, derivative (*a* iv)
	Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, 3	trefoil (*j*) with notched lobes
(*c*)	Little Wilbraham, 81	cruciform brooch, late Åberg group IV
	,, ,, 164	see trefoil (*a*)
	,, ,,	square-head (*a*)
	Holywell Row, 39	cross pattee (*d* i)
	,, ,, 89	cross potent, derivative (*b* 1)
	Marston St. Lawrence	trefoil (*d*)
(*d*)	Marston St. Lawrence	see trefoil (*c*)
(*j* ii)	Barrington A	
	Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, 3	see trefoil (*b*)
	Little Wilbraham, 9	panelled square-head (*d*)
	,, ,, 87	cruciform brooch, early Åberg group IV
(*k* i)	Little Wilbraham, 171	cruciform brooches, late Åberg group III and IV
	Girton, 13	cruciform brooch, Åberg group IV
(*k* ii)	Soham, 7	cruciform brooch, Åberg group IV
	Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, 4	panelled square-head (*b*)

Cross potent:

(*a* ii)	Cambridge (St. John's Cricket Ground)	square-head (*a*)
(*c* i)	Girton, 40	square-head (*a*)
	Barrington B, 82	cruciform brooch, early group V and clasps with zoomorphic ornament
	Soham, 12	cross potent, derivative (*a* ii)
(*c* ii)	Little Wilbraham, 6	large square-headed brooch, 'Haslingfield' type (S.O., pl. 2)
(*c* iii)	,, ,, 32	cruciform brooch, late group III with florid knob (S.O., pl. 7)
	Linton Heath, 84	trefoil (*a*)

Cross potent (derivatives):

(*a* ii)	Holywell Row, 90	3 cruciform brooches, group IV a
	Soham, 12	cross potent (*c* i)
(*a* iv)	Little Wilbraham, 182	trefoil (*a*)
(*b* i)	Holywell Row, 89	trefoil (*c*)

(*c* i) Linton Heath, 40	large gilt square-headed brooch, ? Haslingfield type
(*c* ii) Girton, 71	trefoil (*a*)
Little Wilbraham, 79	cruciform brooch, group IV a (S.O., pl. 7)
(*d*) Linton Heath, 14	sword, spear, shield-boss, and tweezers
Long Wittenham, 63	square-head (*a*)

Cross pattee:

(*b*) Sleaford, 32	cross pattee (*d* ii)
Cambridge (St. John's Cricket Ground)	cruciform brooch, group IV a
(*c*) Little Wilbraham, 53	square-head (*a*)
(*d* i) Sleaford, 2	square-head (*a*)
„ 66	cruciform brooch, group II
„ 143	panelled square head (*f*)
Holywell Row, 39	trefoil (*c*)
(*d* ii) Sleaford, 32	cross pattee (*b*)
Little Wilbraham, 28	square-head (*b* ii); large gilt square-head (S.O., pl. v)
(*d* iii *α*) Sleaford, 43	cruciform brooch, group V
Little Wilbraham, 173 and 174	panelled square-head (*a*) and two cruciform brooches, group II and very early group IV

Square-head:

(*a*) Sleaford, 2	cross pattee (*d* i)
Little Wilbraham, 53	cross pattee (*c*)
„ „ 143	cruciform brooch, group II
„ „ (C.A.S. Comm., xxix. 97)	trefoil (*c*)
Girton, 40	cross potent (*c* i)
St. John's Cricket Ground, Cambridge	cross potent (*a* ii)
Inworth	small cruciform brooch with triangular foot
Long Wittenham, 63	cross potent (*d* i)

Square-head (panelled):

(*a*) Sleaford, 55	cruciform brooch, group ?
Holywell Row, 79	panelled square-head (*g*) and three cruciform brooches, two group III, one group IV, with florid knob
Little Wilbraham, 173 and 174	cross pattee (*d* iii *α*), two cruciform, groups II and IV
(*b*) Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, 4	trefoil (*k* ii)
(*d*) Holywell Row, 21	cruciform brooch, early group IV
Little Wilbraham, 9	trefoil (*j* ii)
(*f*) „ „ 111	cruciform brooch, group III
(*g*) Holywell Row, 37	cruciform brooch, group IV
„ „ 79	panelled square-head (*a*)

Square-head, etc., with lozenge foot:

(*a* i) Bifrons, 6	disc brooch

Square-head (Kentish, outside Kent):

(*a* ii *β*) Linton Heath, 21	large square-headed brooch, cp. Duston and Leeds, E.A.-S.A. and A., p. 90; annular brooch

(*a* ii *α* and *b* i) High Down, 2 (3 specimens)	two saucer-brooches with spiral design
(*b* ii) Linton Heath, 72	cruciform brooch, group V

Penannular:

High Down, 74 3 in. diameter with broad finials	2 small square-head
Alfriston, 43 silver, with animal-head finials and tendril ornament	large gilt square-headed brooch and two small equal-armed brooches
Icklingham (Warren Heath), 3	cruciform brooch
Holywell Row, 39 bronze, with rolled finials	trefoil-head (*c*) and cross pattée (*e*)
„ 52 iron, later than grave 53 disturbed by it, with small square head (*a*)	

Annular:

Staxton type g	cruciform brooch, group IV
„ one made of antler corona	„ „
Driffield, CIII type g (narrow)	cruciform brooch
„ CIX „	„ „
Hornsea, 1 type g	cruciform brooch, group IV
„ 3 type f	large square-headed brooch, Kenninghall II
„ 10 type g	cruciform brooch, group IV
Sancton type g (narrow, with animal heads)	„ „
Sleaford, 66 type g	cruciform brooch and small square-head (*a*)
„ 73 „	cruciform brooch
„ 80 „	cruciform brooch, clasps
„ 116 „	cruciform brooch
„ 123 type f	„ „
„ 134 type g	small cruciform brooch
„ 158 „	cruciform brooch
„ 194 „	applied brooch
„ 205 „	2 cruciform brooches
„ 223 „	cruciform brooch, group IV
„ 233 „ (narrow)	cruciform brooch, group IV, and equal-armed brooch
Holywell Row, 11 „	large square-headed brooch
„ 14 „	„ „
„ 58 „ (narrow)	cruciform brooch, group IV, and clasps
Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, 1 type g	cruciform brooch, group V
„ „ 25 „	„ „
Ipswich, 17 4 type g	large square-headed brooch
High Down, 26	trefoil (*a*)

Disc:

Icklingham (Warren Heath), 2	cruciform brooch
Girton, 71	cruciform brooch, late group IV
Cambridge (St. John's Cricket Ground)	cruciform brooch, early group IV
Barrington A	applied brooch with star design
Long Wittenham, 95	late saucer brooch
Bifrons, 6	2 small square-headed brooches (Kentish type)

II.—*Decorated Initials in English MSS. from A.D. 900 to 1100*

By F. Wormald, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 30th January 1941

I

A recent beautiful publication by Mr. Mynors of the MSS. in the Cathedral Library at Durham has raised an important point in the history of English illuminated MSS.[1] Up to now there has been a tendency to regard the Norman Conquest as constituting a complete break with the past accompanied by the introduction of a new style of illumination. There is, of course, no doubt that in many spheres of life the Norman occupation of England did do away with many characteristics of Anglo-Saxon England. But this is not the whole story. A change in one department of life does not mean a revolution in another. In the realm of literature, for instance, Professor Chambers has shown that the Conquest did not interrupt the writing and development of vernacular prose.[2] Mr. Mynors's book produces ample evidence to confirm a suspicion long held by some, but not uttered, that much of the ornament used by illuminators of English MSS. during the first fifty years after the Conquest is directly descended from motives in use in England long before the Norman invasion. To Mr. Mynors's evidence from Durham, examples of illuminated MSS. from Canterbury may be added in order to show that the famous outline drawing style of the English MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries had healthy descendants in the early years of the twelfth century. The best place to see this continuity is in the illuminated initials of these MSS. In order to do so it is necessary to examine the development of initial ornament in England during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

It has been recognized that in the later Anglo-Saxon MSS. two main types of initials are to be found. The first type consists of those initials which have a rich leafy ornament springing from stout stems. These leaves turn over at their ends and have rather the appearance of ostrich feathers. A common

[1] R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century*, printed for the dean and chapter of Durham Cathedral, Oxford University Press, 1939.

[2] R. W. Chambers, *The Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More*, published in 1932 as an introduction to the Early English Text Society's edition of Nicholas Harpsfield, *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More*, pp. lxxxi–lxxxvi. In this connexion it is interesting to recall that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has given us the most vivid character sketch of the Conqueror himself, see *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer and J. Earle, pp. 219–21.

method of treating them is to place long and short leaves side by side. Frequently there are three in a bunch, but nearly always one leaf is longer than the other two. This type of ornament was inspired by the Carolingian acanthus scroll of the ninth century and was introduced into England from abroad. We shall see that the introduction of continental decorative elements was taking place during the last years of the ninth and the first half of the tenth century and these new contributions exercised a profound influence on the decoration of English MSS. of that time.[1]

A magnificent example of a fully-developed initial in this Carolingian style is the great capital 'B' at the beginning of a Psalter executed for a monastery in the Fenlands, probably either Ramsey or Thorney, in the last half of the tenth century; now Harley MS. 2904 in the British Museum (pl. 1*a*).[2] Here the leaves grow on thick stems and at the place where they break out from them there is a cup-like knob which in one or two cases rather resembles the end of a cornucopia. The ostrich feather effect of the leaves is fully developed in the MS. where it is used with great success. It seems probable that this leafy acanthus scroll is an English development of such scrolls as those found in the Sacramentary made for Drogo, Archbishop of Metz, 826–55, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.[3] At any rate it is not a purely English product, but an English version of a continental archetype.

The shape of the great 'B' in Harley 2904 is also derived from Carolingian sources, but it does not come from the Drogo Sacramentary style but from the Franco-Saxon MSS. The interlace at the top and bottom of the letter with its animals' heads at the ends is quite extraordinarily close to the continental models.[4] These elaborate initials, almost wholly derived from abroad, are

[1] See J. Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament*, pp. 258, 259. Early examples of Carolingian acanthus ornament in England may be seen on St. Cuthbert's stole at Durham Cathedral made by order of Queen Aelflaed of Wessex for Frithestan, bishop of Winchester, between 909 and 916, see *British Museum Quarterly*, xi (1936–7), pl. III. In English MSS. dating from before the middle of the tenth century this kind of acanthus scroll is found in the additions to the Athelstan Psalter, B.M. Cotton MS. Galba A. xviii, f. 21, see E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated MSS. from the Xth to the XIIth Century*, pl. 2*b*, in the border of the miniature on f. 1 verso of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 183, showing King Athelstan offering a book to St. Cuthbert, executed about 937, see Millar, *op. cit.*, pl. 3*a*.

[2] B.M. Harley MS. 2904, f. 4, see E. G. Millar, *op. cit.*, pl. II. For an important paper discussing its origin see C. Niver, 'The Psalter in the British Museum, Harley 2904', in *Mediaeval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, Harvard University Press, pp. 667–87.

[3] Paris, Bib. Nat. lat. 9428, see A. Boinet, *La Miniature carolingienne*, pl. xc. Rather similar scrolls are found on a silver bowl in the Franks collection in the British Museum.

[4] This connexion between the Franco-Saxon MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries and some English MSS. of the later Anglo-Saxon period is well seen if an initial 'I' on p. 115 of British Museum Add. MS. 34890, see Millar, *op. cit.*, pl. 17, be compared with such MSS. as the Gospels from Saint Vaast at Arras, now Boulogne, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 12, see A. Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. xcv.

generally to be found in their purest form decorating the sumptuous MSS. the style of whose illuminations is for want of a better title called the 'Winchester' style.[1]

In the course of the eleventh century this Carolingian acanthus-scroll ornament underwent a certain change. Harley 2904 of the tenth century is probably quite close to its ninth-century parent. There the leaves and tendrils are treated in an almost naturalistic way. Soon, however, a tendency to stylize the ornament becomes stronger. The tendrils and stalks become long and wiry, twisting and interlacing in a much more uncontrolled manner. The English love of asserting, even of exaggerating, the design begins to manifest itself. The nature of the change may best be seen if we compare the initial 'B' from Harley 2904 with another initial 'B' from a Psalter in the University Library at Cambridge, executed probably at Winchcombe in Gloucestershire in the second quarter of the eleventh century (pl. 1 *b*).[2] Structurally the two initials are the same. Both show the same body of the letter, though the Cambridge MS. in only one panel is filled with acanthus ornament; the Franco-Saxon interlace at the ends of the upright are the same, and at the junction of the loops there is exactly the same mask. Yet the treatment of the same motives is different in the two MSS. Whereas in the Harley MS. the shoots, except in two places, are kept within the border of the letter, in the Cambridge MS. they shoot out in long thin stems, twisting over and gripping the border. The interlace of the scroll is much more complicated in the later letter and has at the same time a much more stylized and brittle appearance. Attention may also be drawn to the border of the same page of the Cambridge MS. and comparison made with borders found in 'Winchester' MSS. In the Cambridge book there are signs of a tendency, particularly marked in eleventh-century English illumination, to stretch out the ornament into thin strands, and, as it were, to emaciate the full-bodied acanthus leaves of the type of the Harley Psalter into a kind of thin, wiry interlace. In the initial 'B' this is very clearly seen in the bottom loop of the letter.[3] A rather similar process of stylization has been

A striking similarity between English MSS. of the tenth century and Franco-Saxon MSS. may be seen in a fragment of a Gospel lectionary of the latter half of the tenth century preserved among the Arundel MSS. in the College of Arms, London, Arundel MS. 22.

[1] See Appendix I.

[2] Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ff. 1. 23, f. 5. The Winchcombe identification rests on the position of St. Kenelm at the head of the martyrs in the litany. The MS. is of very considerable importance both from its Anglo-Saxon gloss and the multifarious style of its initials, see p. 125.

[3] Comparison may be made between the borders of Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ff. 1. 23, and those of the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, see E. G. Millar, *op. cit.*, pls. 8, 9. An interesting intermediary in the development of this 'emaciated' acanthus ornament is to be seen in the early eleventh-century Gospels in Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B. 10. 4, see Millar, *op. cit.*, pl. 15. The Psalter from Bury St. Edmunds in the Vatican, Cod. Regin. Lat. 12, see Millar, *op. cit.*,

observed in monuments and objects found in Scandinavia and England decorated in the Ringerike style, whose ornament has been demonstrated to be a stylizing of the 'Winchester' acanthus scroll. In English MSS. this process was never so marked as in the Ringerike monuments, though certain initials in the Cambridge Psalter approach them closely and indicate that the artist was well versed in the Scandinavian style.

Besides these large acanthus-scroll initials, there is another group of initials whose ornament is derived purely from the Carolingian acanthus scroll. These are of a much humbler type than their large and sumptuous relations. Usually they are quite small letters taking up perhaps two lines in height, sometimes less. They may, therefore, be compared to the secondary two-line initials in later medieval MSS. For the most part these little letters are executed in monochrome wash without any detailed drawing or outline. They are just fragments of acanthus scroll painted in one colour, and are first found in English MSS. of the late tenth century. The Bosworth Psalter in the British Museum, probably written at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in the second half of the tenth century, contains a number of them (pl. 11 *a*).[1] Auctaria F. 1. 15, a collection of miscellaneous texts, in the Bodleian, of about 1000, has also a series of initials in this style.[2] They have the same long and short leaf pattern found in the grand initials but executed in monochrome, and in most examples become considerably more stylized. In spite of this, however, there can be no doubt that these types are very intimately related to each other.

These small monochrome letters have some fine and elaborate descendants amongst the initials in English MSS. of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. These later initials are larger, and, instead of confining their decoration to a leaf pattern at the end of a stroke of the letter, they fill up the spaces of the initial with a scroll of 'Winchester' acanthus, executed usually in several colours instead of the earlier monochrome. The effect is one of great elegance and delicacy, rather like a pretty wall-paper. Two excellent examples may be seen in a couple of MSS. from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in the British Museum. The first is a collection of lives of saints connected with St. Augustine's abbey,[3] the second is a Passionale (pl. 11 *b*).[4] In both MSS.

pl. 19, which is closer in date to the Cambridge MS., shows a rather different form of stylization at work.

[1] London, B.M. Add. MS. 37517. [2] Ff. 29 verso, 230 verso, 248 recto.

[3] B.M. Cotton MS. Vespasian B. xx, *Catalogue of MSS. in the Cottonian Library*, 1802, p. 442.

[4] London, B.M. Arundel MS. 91. For a description of its contents see W. Levison, *Conspectus Codicum Hagiographicorum* in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, vii, 603. N. R. Ker, *Mediaeval Libraries of Great Britain*, Royal Historical Society, Guides and Handbooks No. 3, p. 27, n. 1, notes that B.M. Arundel 91 and Bodleian Fell 2 are companion volumes. The decorative initials have for the most part been removed from the Bodleian MS.

the initials of this type are so close to one another that they may well be by the same hand. If the acanthus scrolls in these initials be compared with the leaf ornament on the small monochrome initials in such MSS. as the Bosworth Psalter, it at once becomes clear that the later initials are descended from the earlier ones. Certainly the initials of about 1100 are far more highly decorated. Nevertheless they are both calligraphic versions of the 'Winchester' acanthus initials. It is interesting to see that in the scrolls of these calligraphic initials similar emaciating tendencies are at work as were observed in the more sumptuous initials of the type of the Cambridge Psalter.

Besides these large initials of the kind found in the two MSS. mentioned above there is a number of MSS. of the end of the eleventh century which contain smaller monochrome initials even more closely related to those in the Bosworth Psalter. Here again is a thinning development which draws out the tendrils into thin pen-work arabesques. An initial in a St. Augustine at Durham of before 1096 shows the Durham version of this initial style. It will be seen that the Canterbury initials are closer to the earlier work.[1]

II

Tenth- to Eleventh-century Initials of Mixed Origin

Besides the initials whose ornament is entirely derived from Carolingian sources there is another large group which Dr. Brøndsted has shown to be derived from South English and Mercian initials of the eighth and ninth centuries. They have three chief characteristics.[2] First is the use made of the head of a bird or a dragon provided with strongly gripping jaws, the lower jaw being usually very thin. These heads are frequently bent back at a violent angle which gives them the appearance of being hinged. Secondly a good deal of use is made of interlace. Thirdly there is acanthus ornament derived from Carolingian sources. For the sake of convenience these initials may be divided into two families. In the first family the gripping heads are provided with complete bodies either of dragons or of birds. In the second family the decoration is constructed of heads, interlace, and acanthus ornament. The most fully developed examples of both families belong to the second half of the tenth century.

Brøndsted has already laid down the general lines of development of these initials. It is possible, however, to add some examples which lie between the

[1] Durham Cathedral MS. B. 11. 13, f. 52 verso, St. Augustine, Commentary on the Psalter, Mynors, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 35, no. 31. Comparison should be made between this type of initial and certain initials found in ninth-century MSS. from Tours, cf. W. Koehler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, I Bd., *Die Schule von Tours*, Taff. 40 *a*, *c*; 41 *c*; 57 *d*, *g*; 101 *c*; 106 *c*; 109 *b*; 117 *g*, *i*; 118 *c*; 123 *d*.

[2] Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament*.

earlier ones of the ninth century and the fully developed ones of about the year 1000. One example at least of the early MSS. must be mentioned. In the English Gospel book among the Barberini MSS. in the Vatican of the eighth century, possibly Mercian, are a number of small initials which are used in the great decorated pages at the beginning of the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John (pl. III *a*).[1] These are decorated with small gripping heads each provided with a long tongue or a crest growing from the base of the head which twists itself into an interlace. In many cases heads are provided with both tongue and crest. At the end of them is frequently a small trefoil. This interlace often joins on to the crest or tongue of the next letters and thus these small letters are bound into a continuous pattern covering a considerable portion of the page. The general effect of these letters is similar to that of a number of elongated tadpoles.

The chaotic condition of England during much of the ninth century with its consequent decline of culture sufficiently explains why it is impossible to produce many decorated MSS. of good quality after the Book of Cerne, executed probably between 818 and 830. It is not until quite the end of the century that ornamented initials begin to appear again in MSS. When they do appear they are slight and poor productions which cannot be compared with either their predecessors in MSS. or with other works of art dating from the reign of Alfred.[2] For the history of English illuminated MSS., however, they are of great importance, because they provide the link between the illuminated MSS. of the eighth and early ninth centuries and those of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The first MS. which should be mentioned is an Ovid now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (pl. III *b*).[3] It was written in Wales in about 900 and was in the possession of Glastonbury Abbey by the middle of the tenth century. The word 'Si' at the beginning has been formed into a monogram decorated with heads which grip the next limb of the letter, thus forming a continuous pattern. If this monogram be compared with the letters in the Barberini Gospels it becomes obvious that both are constructed in the same way. In fact the monogram in the Ovid is the direct descendant of the small initials found in the

[1] Vatican, Barberini lat. 570, see E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Mappe iv, Taff. 315, 316; see also T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*, p. 147. Another good example may be found in a MS. of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, Mercian, *c.* 800, Cotton MS. Tiberius C. II, in the British Museum, see E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ii, p. 21, Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, Taf. 291 *b*, T. D. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, p. 168. Similar initials with biting heads are found in the Canterbury Gospels, early ninth century, B.M. Royal MS. I E. vi, where they are enclosed in panels, the letters making a continuous pattern inside, see Kendrick, *op. cit.*, pl. LXVI, 5.

[2] e.g. the fragments of a sculptured cross from Ramsbury, Wilts., or the back of the Alfred jewel at Oxford, see T. D. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, pls. XCIX–CI.

[3] Oxford, Bodl. MS. Auct. F. 4, 32, see *New Palaeographical Society*, Series I, pl. 82.

earlier MSS. A copy of King Alfred's Cura Pastoralis, written between 890 and 897, originally from Worcester, now at Oxford, contains initials whose style is also a development of the earlier ones.[1] They are in some ways less conservative than those in the Ovid, but there are the same little biting heads with crests and a certain amount of not very competent interlace.

So far, then, the initials of about 900 seem to be merely poverty-stricken children of the earlier insular styles. In Royal MS. 5 F. iii, an Aldhelm, in the British Museum, however, there appears a new tendency towards what may be called the 'Romanesque'.[2] This expression 'Romanesque' has been used by Mr. Kendrick to describe the effect of Alfred's attempts to give his kingdom an art more worthy of his conceptions of culture; in fact, a visual expression of the ideas found in the great manifesto which forms the preface to his translation of St. Gregory's Cura Pastoralis.[3] The initials in the Aldhelm are poor things when compared with other achievements of Alfredian art, but they do at least contain signs of this Romanesque tendency. It will be well if we examine the first four letters of the word *Reverentissimis* from the opening of Aldhelm's work (pl. III *c*). The letter 'R' has its upright formed by a stroke with a head at the top and a bunch of leaves at the bottom. The loop is a black stroke with leafy projections springing from the head and ending in a leafy scroll. The spur of the letter is a dragon with a leafy tail. 'U' is formed in a similar way. The first stroke is a very rudimentary winged dragon which bites the second stroke of the letter. 'E' is composed of two strokes. The vertical has leafy frills and a creature's head which bites the back of a winged dragon whose tail is twisted into the interlace ending in a leafy bunch.

If these letters be compared with the initials in South English and Mercian MSS. of about seventy-five to a hundred years earlier it becomes obvious that the structure of them both is the same. The difference between the earlier and later initials lies rather in the elaboration of detail, the fattish leaves, and the more solid appearance of the dragon. All these give the impression that the artist was attempting to add to his insular heritage by introducing into his initials something which was likely to have more 'naturalistic' and less 'abstract' qualities than could be found in the initials in the earlier English MSS. He seems, in fact, to be coming under the influences of Carolingian art with its derivation from 'naturalistic' late antique art. As yet these influences are very faint, hardly felt at all, but they are the first indications of

[1] Oxford, Bodl. Hatton MS. 60, reproduced by the *New Palaeographical Society*, Series I, pl. 8.

[2] B.M. Royal MS. 5 F. iii, Aldhelm, De Laude Virginitatis, ninth century, written in several hands 'more or less of Mercian type', see G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Royal and Kings MSS.*, i, p. 120; iv, pl. 44.

[3] T. D. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

the great changes which English illumination was to undergo during the first half of the tenth century.[1]

Among the English MSS. of the first half of the tenth century there are a few whose initials, while retaining a fundamentally insular structure of gripping heads and interlace, show at the same time an increasing influence of the 'Romanesque' characteristics observed in the Royal MS. 5 F. iii. The earliest of these is the liturgical MS. known as the Durham Ritual, now in the Cathedral Library at Durham.[2] It was written, probably in Southern England, in the early years of the tenth century. In it are a number of small initials drawn in outline without the use of colour. Besides dragons' heads, masks, and interlace, which are derived from the late ninth-century initials, there are some composed of human heads drawn in full-face and profile. Similar heads are found in the Barberini Gospels.[3] They are, therefore, no innovations. Birds of the same type as those of the Royal 5 F. iii are found, but they are undergoing a change. While still very stylized these creatures have acquired a more solid appearance than their predecessors. The dragons' heads, too, are gaining in firmness and strength.[4] It is, however, in the introduction of certain leaf patterns into initial decoration that the Durham Ritual initials are most important. These leaf patterns may be seen on a letter 'D' in this MS. (pl. II *c*). In it the body of the letter is composed of a legless bird. From its mouth springs a stalk on which grows a twisted leaf of a kind found in the large initials of a later date which are composed of Carolingian acanthus scrolls. Perhaps the most noticeable feature about this leaf is that one curl is much longer than the other two. It is, in fact, the earliest example in English illumination of one of the most persistent ornamental motives of decoration found in English MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries: the 'Long and Short' leaf pattern. Its immediate origin must be sought in Carolingian acanthus ornament, and it is one of the most significant signs of continental influence on the English illuminators of that time. One cannot say at what

[1] It is quite likely that the leafy frills on the edge of the letters in the Royal 5 F. iii may have been inspired by the decoration found on the small initials in the Drogo Sacramentary in Paris, Bib. Nat. lat. 9428, see A. Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXXVI. Another interesting example of this change of spirit may be seen in comparing a mask such as that found in an initial 'T' on f. 32 *b* of Royal MS. 5 F. iii with that found in the Mercian MS. known as the Book of Cerne, Cambridge, University Library MS. Ll. i. 10, *c.* 818–30, see Kendrick, *op. cit.*, pl. LXVIII, 3, and the mask at the junction of the loops in the great 'B' in B.M. Harley MS. 2904. The mask in the Aldhelm is much closer to that in the Harley MS., which we saw was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of continental Carolingian art.

[2] Durham Cathedral MS. A. iv. 19, see R. Mynors, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[3] Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, pl. 315 *a*.

[4] Attention may be drawn to the head of the S-shaped beast on the late ninth-century cross-shaft from Ramsbury, Wilts., see T. D. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, pl. c, which has something of the characteristics of these heads with their strong jaws and sharp teeth.

precise date this leaf pattern reached England, but it was well known by the early years of the tenth century because it is found on the stole and maniple of St. Cuthbert in Durham Cathedral, made at Winchester before 916.[1] The second initial 'D' at the foot of the page has leafy ornament in the form of knotty calices in the initial. Similar motives are again found on the St. Cuthbert stole.

Also adhering strongly to the 'insular' tradition are portions of two MSS. in the British Museum, both of the first half of the tenth century. The first is another copy of St. Aldhelm's tract De Virginitate, Royal MS. 7 D. xxiv.[2] It contains a number of initials not very well done in colours. They are not remarkable, and have a worm-like interlace. The animals' heads are like those of the Durham Ritual, but there is little of the new style about them. They are, in fact, thoroughly conservative productions. Very much the same may be said of the initials in the second MS. This is Cotton MS. Galba A. xviii, known as the Athelstan Psalter, in the British Museum.[3] It is a Psalter the greater part of which was written on the continent in the ninth century, but a calendar and some compotus matter as well as four miniatures were added in England, probably between 927 and 940.[4] It is likely that the MS., which was at Winchester during the middle ages, was a present from Athelstan to the Old Minster.[5] The additions may, therefore, have been made at Winchester.

While the added miniatures are painted in an entirely continental manner and are obviously based upon continental archetypes, the initials forming the 'KL' monogram at the beginning of each month of the calendar are entirely 'insular' in style. Compared with the initials in the Durham Ritual they are quite reactionary. There is no use made of the new acanthus leaves and the crested heads at the terminals of the letters have none of the robustness of those in the Durham Ritual.

Very much the contrary state of affairs is to be found in the next MS. to be discussed, the copy of Bede's life of St. Cuthbert, now Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 183, which was presented by Athelstan to Durham in about 937.[6] The initials in this MS. are beautiful little things and their style

[1] A. G. I. Christie, *English Mediaeval Embroidery*, pls. I–III. Particular attention may be drawn to the lower portion of the second maniple, see pl. III. It is also found on the beautiful cross at Colyton, Devon.

[2] G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

[3] British Museum, *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum*, part II, Latin, pp. 12, 13.

[4] The miniatures are reproduced by E. G. Millar, *op. cit.*, pl. 2. Three of them are still in the MS. The fourth has been removed and is now in the Bodleian at Oxford, MS. Rawlinson B. 484, f. 85.

[5] J. A. Robinson, *The Times of St. Dunstan*, pp. 64, 65.

[6] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 54. The famous miniature of the king offering the book to St. Cuthbert on f. 1 verso is reproduced by E. G. Millar, *op. cit.*, pl. 3*a*.

is both interesting and important. The dragons and birds' heads which play a conspicuous role in the decoration, are treated entirely in the Romanesque continental manner of the early 'Winchester' style. The fine initial 'D' at the beginning of the preface shows particularly well how continental influences dominated the artist's work (pl. II *d*). The actual construction of the letter belongs to the old pattern, a head at the top of the letter and a bunch of leaves at the bottom. The treatment of both head and tail shows great changes from the methods in use at the end of the ninth century. The creatures' heads and the leaves have acquired a solidarity which betrays the fact that the new 'continental' influences have been at work. An even greater change is to be seen in the large initial 'P'. Here is the complete triumph of Carolingian influence. The body of the letter is filled with ornament, the upright having a leafy scroll, and the loop is composed of acanthus leaf decoration. This initial is the first essay in English illumination of an entirely uninsular type of initial, and as such is the forerunner of the great capitals with their elaborate acanthus ornaments in the fully developed initials of the 'Winchester' school. The scroll on the upright of the letter should be particularly noted, for it is quite obviously the original of much decoration of a later date. It is stylistically a thoroughly continental production, though rather similar ornament may be found on the St. Cuthbert stole and the Colyton cross (pl. IV *a*).

On f. i verso of the Corpus St. Cuthbert is a miniature of Athelstan offering his book to St. Cuthbert. The scene is surrounded by a wide border divided into panels. The latter are filled with leafy scrolls into which birds and lions have been introduced (pl. IV *b*). As Mr. Kendrick has said, this scroll-work is 'an English essay in the Frankish fashion of the Court'.[1] It is, like the ornament on the initial just mentioned, a new contribution to English illumination, and, like the initial, the origin of much of the later ornament. What is even more significant is that these scrolls show that the continental elements already noted in the Durham Ritual are beginning to play an overwhelmingly important part in book decoration and initial ornament. They are no longer mere accessories to an initial style, which we saw was fundamentally 'insular', but are helping to produce a new style in which 'insular' and 'continental' elements have an equally important share. The most perfect examples of this combination of insular and continental elements are to be found in the initials in the Junius Psalter at Oxford. This MS., a Psalter of the Roman version with an Anglo-Saxon interlinear gloss, once formed part of the collection of Francis Junius, who died in 1677, and whose collection passed into the Bodleian. Its date is given by the editors of the New Palaeographical Society as first half of the tenth century, after 905, but stylistically it would

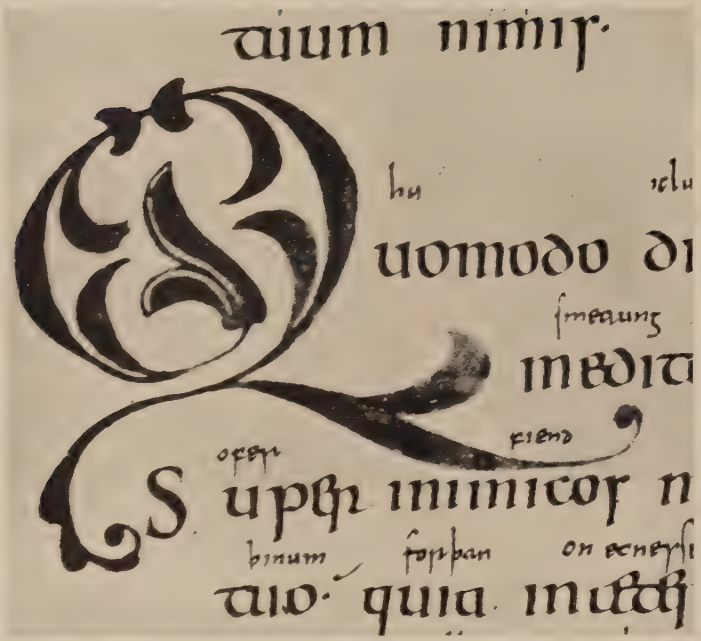
[1] *The Antiquaries Journal*, xviii, 378.

a. London, British Museum, Harley MS. 2904, f. 4

b. Cambridge, University Library MS. Ff. i. 23, f. 5

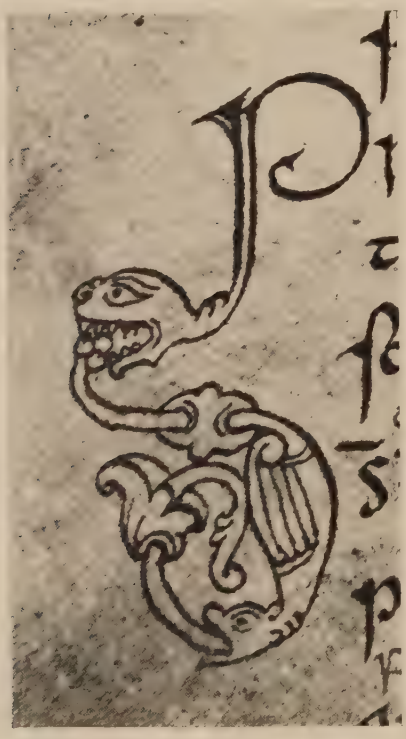
c. London, British Museum, Arundel MS. 60, f. 13

d. Durham, Cathedral Library MS. A. 11. 4, f. 65



a. London, British Museum, Add. MS. 37517

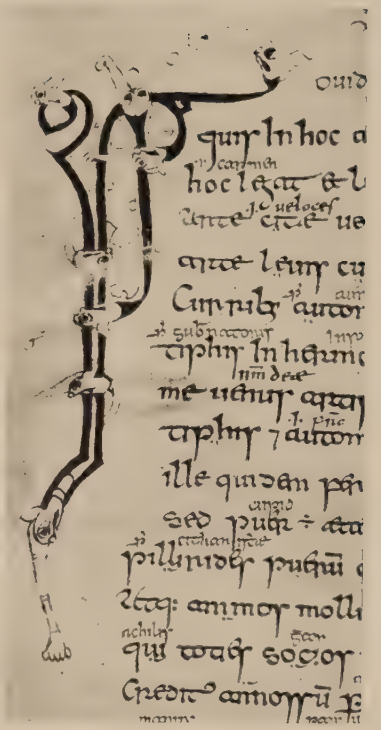
b. London, British Museum, Arundel MS. 91, f. 170 b



c. Durham, Cathedral Library
MS. A. iv. 19. The Durham Ritual

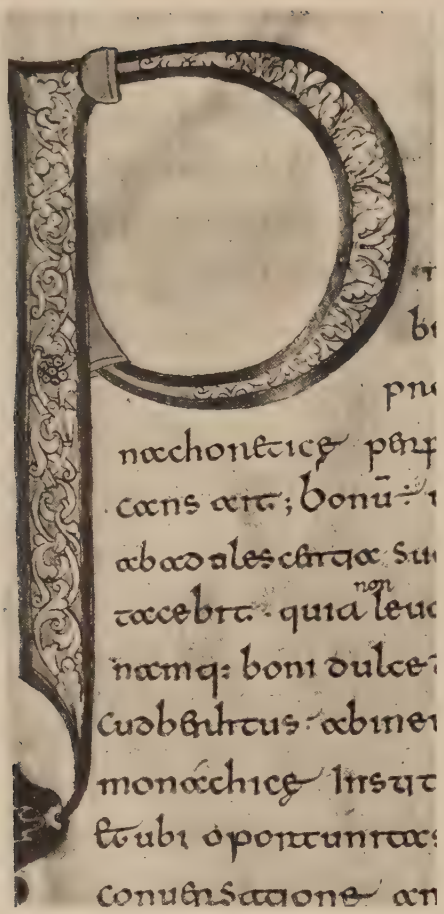
d. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 183

a. Rome, Vatican, Barberini lat. 570, f. 125 recto



b. Oxford, Bodleian MS. Hatton 60

c. London, British Museum, Royal MS. 5 F. iii



a. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 183

b. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 183, f. 1 verso

c. Oxford, Bodleian MS. Junius 27, f. 121 verso

d. Oxford, Bodleian MS. Junius 27, f. 20

seem to belong to the second quarter of the tenth century.[1] Winchester has been suggested as its original home.

The great importance of the MS. lies in its 152 initials. These are finely drawn and coloured and are the work of an artist who had entirely assimilated the 'Romanesque' tendencies at work in England at that time. Structurally they are very varied, yet the decorative elements remain quite constant. These may be summarized as follows: acanthus scrolls, winged dragons, animals' heads, and interlace. It is noticeable at once that with the exception of the acanthus scroll all these elements are to be found in the initials derived from the earlier insular MSS. of the ninth century, as well as from the MSS. of about 900. The old motives have been changed by continental influence. They are more substantial, their colour is richer, and the heads with their savage jaws and protruding eyes are fiercely realistic. The key to the ornament of the Junius Psalter initials is the enormous advance in the use of the acanthus ornament. For, whereas in the Durham Ritual and the Corpus Life of St. Cuthbert in nearly every case the balance between insular and continental motives is maintained, in the Junius Psalter the ornament is saturated with new ideas of decoration.

The most direct use of the acanthus scroll made by the Junius artist was to snip off a portion of an inhabited acanthus scroll and twist it into the form of the letter required. If, for instance, we compare the initial 'D' on f. 121 verso with the scroll on the border of the St. Cuthbert miniature in the Corpus Life of St. Cuthbert we shall see that this letter is merely a fragment of the same kind of scroll modelled into the required shape (pl. IV *c*). This initial is the first example in English illumination of the use of the inhabited scroll for purposes of initial ornament. It is, therefore, the ancestor of a type of initial very popular in the high Romanesque period of the twelfth century.

There are a number of other initials in the Junius Psalter which show this use of the acanthus scroll. A very slight modification was often made by the introduction of creatures' heads of a type already found in English MSS. Winged dragons with gripping heads as well as interlace, all taken over from earlier English initials, are also found in an ever varying mixture. In this connexion it is of some interest to examine a typical initial from the Junius Psalter in some detail. On f. 20 is an initial 'D' (pl. IV *d*). It is composed of two heads, two winged dragons, some interlace, and a little leaf-work. The heads are derived from ninth-century originals like the Barberini Gospels and the Book of Cerne. Both have the same fiercely gripping jaws and the crests growing from the back of the head. The three-quarter face view of two of them is not found in early MSS., though a rudimentary form is found in one. It appears rather

[1] Oxford, Bodl. MS. Junius, 27. An excellent description of the MS. is in *New Palaeographical Society*, Series II, pl. 62.

to be a development of various heads in the MSS. of the style of the Barberini Gospels. The winged dragons with their interlacing tails are descendants of similar creatures found in the Aldhelm MS. Royal 5 F. iii, whose initials we saw were developments of those of the earlier period. The crest of the head in the middle of the letter should be noted. It will be seen that almost as soon as it springs from the head it forms a knot round the neck of the dragon and then passes across its face into its jaws and finally ends up in a piece of acanthus ornament. This treatment of the crest is similar in spirit to that found in the Barberini Gospels, where they were twisted to join various letters together. The tails of these winged dragons can also be demonstrated to be derived from the earlier initials where the tails of some of the letters end in leafy ornament. The difference between them is that, whereas in the earlier initials perhaps only a head and a leafy tail decorate an initial, or a single dragon may form a letter, in the Junius Psalter and the later initials enough material for several of the early ninth-century initials has been combined to make one imposing capital letter. It is not so much the introduction of new material, but an enrichment and amplification of the old material. The initials of the Junius Psalter mark, therefore, the end of the tentative absorbing by English illuminators of Carolingian influence which we saw beginning in the initials of about 900. The union is now complete, and we have an initial style fully developed and ready to stand beside the great productions of the 'Winchester' school of the second half of the century.[1] It is a far cry from these elaborate initials of the Junius Psalter to the simple little letters of the Barberini Gospels; but there can be little doubt that they are their descendants transformed by contact with Carolingian art.

Contemporary with the Junius Psalter is the copy of King Alfred's English translation of the Universal History of Orosius, now in the possession of Lord Tollemache at Helmingham Hall (pl. v *a*).[2] It is usually known as the Helmingham Orosius. The MS. is decorated with five initials, three with complete creatures forming part of the decoration, two composed of heads with the usual interlace and acanthus ornament. In style the initials are so close to the Junius Psalter that it is reasonable to ascribe them to the same artist. The sole difference seems to be that the Junius Psalter uses colour and the Orosius uses only outline drawing. Both have the same gripping heads and fiercely beaked birds

[1] Besides the elements mentioned above, the initials in the Junius Psalter often contain human busts and heads, sometimes complete figures. The style of these figures may be described as early 'Winchester'. They are not unlike the Galba A. xviii miniatures and the Corpus Life of St. Cuthbert.

[2] A description of the MS. and a facsimile are in *New Palaeographical Society*, Series I, pl. 187. It is dated probably in the first half of the tenth century. N. R. Ker, *Mediaeval Libraries of Great Britain*, p. 112, assigns the MS. to Winchester Cathedral on grounds of script. Pages 8, 94, 128 have complete creatures; p. 39 heads only.

The acanthus ornament is also exactly the same in the two MSS. Two kinds of interlace are used, a thick, cord-like one[1] and a thin, black, wiry one. Both are found in the Junius Psalter.[2]

Initials from the Middle of the Tenth Century to about the year 1000

The history of English initials in the second half of the tenth century shows the working out of the various decorative types found in the Junius Psalter and the Helmingham Orosius. Besides the mixed insular and Carolingian initials there are the acanthus initials in the sumptuous 'Winchester' MSS., and their small monochrome relations which have been discussed and shown to be entirely Carolingian in origin. The mixed type of initial divides into two main groups which may be called types I and II, type I having ornament in which creatures with complete bodies are used, type II using only their heads in the decoration. In both types use is made of interlace and acanthus ornament. Before describing them it is necessary to make two points quite clear. The first is that it is impossible to say on the evidence of the use of these kinds of initials where any particular MS. decorated with them was made. It has been suggested that their home may have been Canterbury, but the testimony of the MSS. themselves does not support this view.[3] We can only say that they are found in MSS. from all over Southern England and are part of the common vocabulary of English illuminators of that time. The second point is that although some MSS. give preference to one type of initial more than to another, there are a number of books in which both types are used side by side.[4]

Type I

The group of initials belonging to type I are distinguished from the others by the use of a complete creature to form the whole or part of a letter. These creatures are normally provided with strong jaws or beaks, the lower one being usually very thin, which grip fiercely the interlace or the initial itself. Their tails are usually decorated with a bunch of leaves. They are certainly derived from the same sort of creatures found in the Junius Psalter. Among the MSS. of the latter half of the tenth century and the early years of the eleventh century there are seven whose initials have complete creatures in them and

[1] Cf. pp. 8, 60, 128.

[2] P. 94. This black, wiry, interlace is found also on f. 7 verso of the Junius Psalter. Attention should also be called to the great similarity between the two horned heads on f. 28 of the Junius Psalter and p. 128 of the Helmingham Orosius.

[3] E. G. Millar, *op. cit.*, p. 14. See Appendix II.

[4] MSS. containing mixed types are Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B. 11. 2; Cambridge, University Library MS. Ff. 1. 23; Cambridge, Corpus Christi MS. 41; London, B.M., Harley MS. 5431; London, Lambeth Palace MS. 200.

therefore belong to type I. Unlike the MSS. with type II initials, which tend to be datable about 1000, these MSS. are scattered in date and somewhat different from each other in style. In some the creatures are rather solid-looking, in others thin and wiry. Two of the books are very famous MSS.: the Vercelli Codex and the Caedmon MS. at Oxford.[1] The third, Cotton MS. Caligula A. vii, in the British Museum, is the Old-Saxon alliterative poem on the life of Christ known as the Heliand.[2] Besides these vernacular MSS. there are four others in Latin: a Gospel-book from Saint Vaast at Arras, now at Boulogne,[3] an Amalarius, 'De ecclesiasticis officiis' from Saint Bertin at St. Omer, also now at Boulogne,[4] and two MSS. in the British Museum: a Rule of St. Benedict from St. Augustine's, Canterbury,[5] and a grammatical collection among the Cotton MSS.[6]

It is extremely difficult to arrange these MSS. in a satisfactory chronological sequence. If we take the Helmingham Orosius as the starting-point the two Boulogne MSS. are closest to it in style (pl. v *b*). Both MSS. have the same rather fleshy dragons and acanthus ornament as the Orosius. Their date is probably, therefore, the third quarter of the tenth century. Rather similar dragons are found in the Heliand MS. which is dated palaeographically in the second half of the tenth century. Much the same date is given to the Vercelli Codex. On the whole both look later than the Boulogne MSS.[7] The heads of the dragons become less fleshy and look more like the type II MSS., which can be dated about 1000. The Harley Rule of St. Benedict can be safely dated about 1000 also because of the likeness to the type II MSS. The Cleopatra Grammatical MS. probably comes next, and finally the Caedmon

[1] The Vercelli Codex, see M. Förster, *Il Codice Vercellese con Omelie e Poesie in lingua Anglosassone*, Rome, 1913, has on f. 49 recto a type I initial. The other two initials, ff. 106 verso, 112 recto, belong to type II *a*. For the Caedmon MS., Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Junius 11, see facsimile edited by Sir I. Gollancz, *The Caedmon Manuscript*, 1927.

[2] See R. Priebsch, *The Heliand MS. Caligula A. VII in the British Museum*, Oxford, 1925, pls. IV and V, where the initials are reproduced. Priebsch's evidence for a Canterbury or Winchester origin for the MS. seems somewhat far-fetched, since it is based mainly on the view that the initials of this type are indications of a Canterbury origin. A safer view would be that the MS. was produced in Southern England at some centre in touch with the Benedictine reform movement of the tenth century.

[3] Boulogne, MS. 10, see *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements de France*, iv (1872), p. 577, which dates the book 'IX siècle'. This is certainly too early.

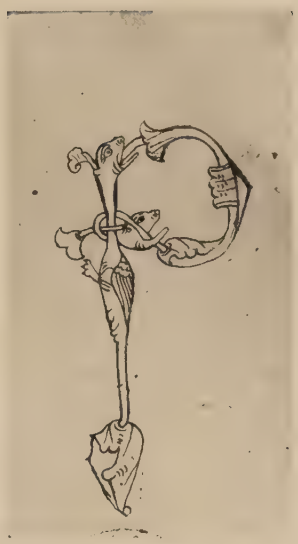
[4] Boulogne, MS. 82, see *Cat. Gén., tom. cit.*, p. 624. The initials are described as 'majuscules à têtes d'animaux enlacées, au trait en noir, sauf la première en rouge, vert et jaune'. This colouring recalls that of the Heliand MS.

[5] A description and plate of the MS. of the Rule of St. Benedict, B.M. Harley MS. 5431, will be found in *New Palaeographical Society*, Series II, pl. 63.

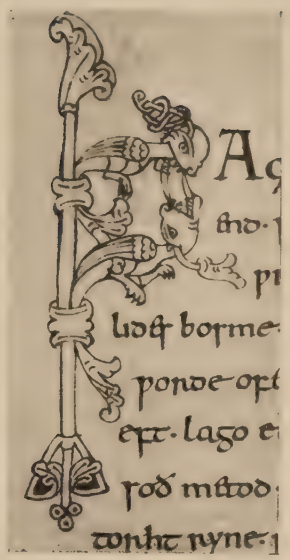
[6] B.M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra A. vi.

[7] W. Keller, *Angelsächische Paläographie*, pp. 39, 40, dates the Vercelli Codex 'von 960–980', but Max Förster, *op. cit.*, p. 13, takes a more cautious view which has been adopted here.

a. Helmingham Hall, Orosius



b. Boulogne MS. 82



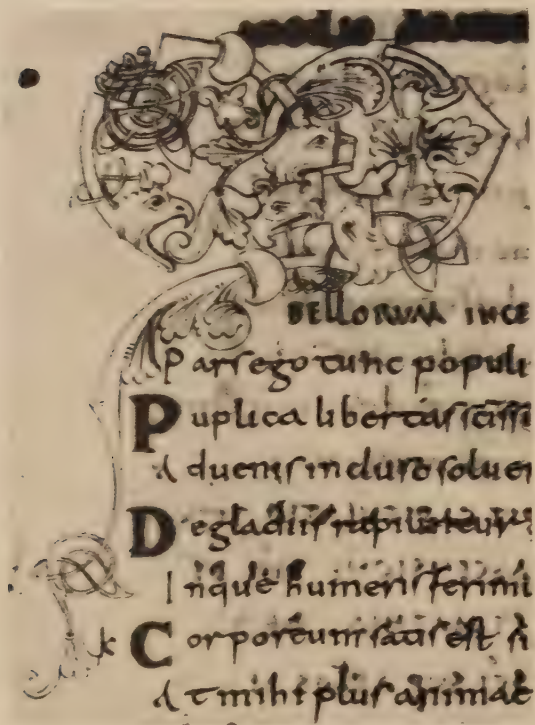
c. Oxford, Bodleian MS. Junius 11, Caedmon MS.

d. Salisbury Cathedral MS. 150, f. 54 b

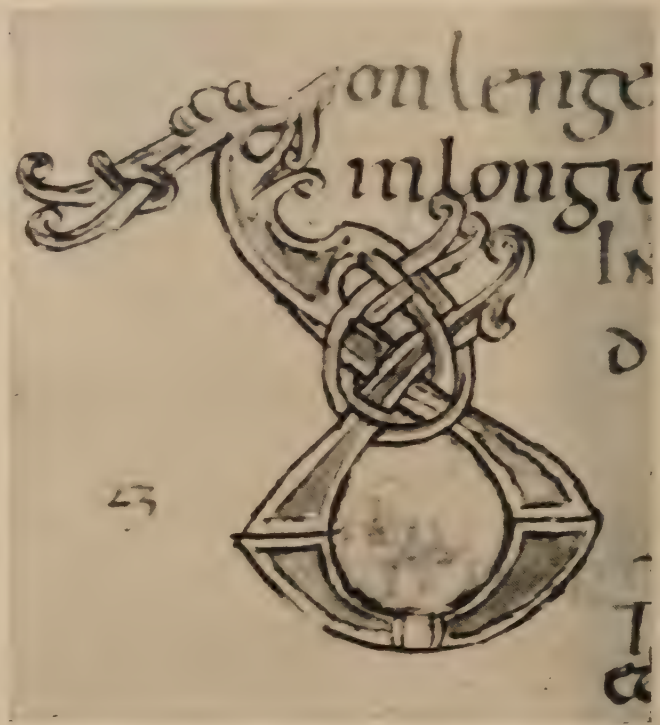
e. Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B. 11. 2

a. Oxford, Bodleian MS. Digby 146, f. 7

b. Oxford, Bodleian MS. Auct. F. 1. 15, f. 48 b



c. Oxford, Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C. 570, f. 2



d. Cambridge, University Library MS. Ff. i. 23, f. 37 b

MS., which from the occurrence of Scandinavian ornament in it is probably of the second quarter of the eleventh century (pl. v *c*). The initials in the Caedmon MS. are peculiar, because although the MS. seems to be late, the dragons and even the acanthus ornament have an artificial antiquity about them and look as if they are later copies of initials belonging to a type quite close to the Helmingham Orosius.

Another group of initials using complete creatures, but stylistically rather different from the seven MSS. we have just discussed, is a Psalter in the library at Salisbury Cathedral executed in the south-west of England probably between 969 and 978.[1] The chief point of difference between the initials used in this MS. and the other seven MSS. is the form of the dragon used. In the Salisbury MS. they have curious fleshy rib-like projections on their backs. Considerably more use is made of the dragons, too. Many of the initials are entirely composed of them. The interlace is almost always formed by the tails and crests of the creatures, but is much more fleshy in appearance than that found in the other MSS. (pl. v *d*). The acanthus ornament is sparse and thin. A few birds are also introduced and in two cases, at least, a human figure is used to form part of the letter; a practice which recalls Merovingian and Byzantine initials.[2]

Before leaving the Salisbury Psalter one further point is of interest. On f. 122 is an initial 'A' in which the dragons and creatures seem to use the border of the letter as a sort of gymnastic frame to support their contortions. The dragons do not in this case compose the whole of the initial. They are confined within a framework over which they twist and climb. A rather similar practice is to be found in an initial 'I' in the early eleventh-century Gospels at Trinity College, Cambridge, where dragons and birds clamber over the edge of the initial.[3]

Type II

The initials of the second type, which are descended from the mixture of insular and continental decorative elements, differ from the first type in an important particular. Both have the same gripping heads, interlace, and acanthus ornament; but whereas in the first type the heads are provided with bodies in the second type heads, interlace, and acanthus only are used. The

[1] Salisbury Cathedral MS. 150. Two folios are reproduced by the *Palaeographical Society*, Series I, pls. 188, 189. The dating of the MS. has been arrived at in the following way. The table of indictions at the beginning of the book extends from 969 to 1006. The former date may be taken as the *terminus ante quem non*. Since the calendar in the MS. belongs to the West Country group, see F. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Henry Bradshaw Soc., vol. lxxii (1933), pp. 16–27, the absence of St. Edward, king and martyr enshrined at Shaftesbury, makes it probable that the MS., which is in the original hand, was written before his murder in 978. [2] Ff. 60 *b*, 63.

[3] Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B. 10. 4, f. 60, see E. G. Millar, *op. cit.*, p. 74, pl. 15.

division is rather an arbitrary one, because a number of MSS. have initials of both types in them, though some seem to show a preference for one type over another. The dates of the MSS. containing these bodiless initials seem to be mainly about the year 1000, though at least one is rather earlier.

For the sake of convenience initials belonging to this type may be sub-divided into two groups. In the first group the interlace is executed in *thin, black, wiry* lines; in the second group the interlace is thicker and the *outline only* is drawn. Rather the same may be said of the body of the initials themselves. In the first group the body of the letter is filled in with black leaving a thin, white, wire-like line in the middle; in the second the outline alone is drawn in. In both groups the use of heavy body colour is rare, though details are sometimes drawn in a different colour from that of the main body of the letter.[1] A small point, though it is of some interest, is that the initials of this type tend to be found in non-liturgical MSS. The sumptuous liturgical books are more often decorated with initials of a purely Carolingian type.

The first group of these initials, those with thin black interlace, are certainly derived from the MSS. about 900, through such books as the Junius Psalter. Rather similar interlace can be seen in the Oxford MS. of the Pastoral Care, and an initial in the Junius Psalter also shows the same wiry lines. The earliest MS. of the group is an Amalarius in Trinity College, Cambridge, given by Bishop Leofric to Exeter in about 1072.[2] It is unfortunate that we do not know where this MS. was written, but it is clear that Dr. James was wrong when he dated it in the eleventh century. Actually the script is related to hands in Anglo-Saxon documents of about 975.[3] The initials in the Trinity Amalarius are amongst the most charming creations of late Anglo-Saxon art. Unlike most members of this group the initials use a good deal of colour. The effect is one of jewel-like delicacy. Both the interlace and the acanthus ornament are extremely fine and the latter reminds one of the monochrome initials of a rather later date (pl. v*e*). Being rather earlier than the other MSS. having these black interlace initials, the Trinity MS. is not quite so characteristic a member of the group. Bodleian MS. Digby 146, from Abingdon, is

[1] Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B. 11. 2 (Amalarius, De Ecclesiasticis Officiis) and B.M. Add. MS. 37517, however, use a considerable amount of colour.

[2] Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B. 11. 2. The MS. was presented to Exeter Cathedral by Bishop Leofric in about 1072. A note recording the gift is on f. 121*b*, see M. R. James, *Catalogue of the Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, i, 327. For a discussion of Leofric's gifts to Exeter, see Max Förster in the facsimile issued by the Friends of Exeter Cathedral, *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, pp. 10–32. For a list of MSS. containing inscriptions recording their gift to Exeter, see M. Förster, *op. cit.*, p. 11, n. 3.

[3] Palaeographically this MS. resembles a grant, by King Edgar to Aelfhere, of land at Nymed near Copplestone, Devon, dated in 974, see *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.*, ii (Ordnance Survey, 1881), now in the Public Record Office.

a particularly good example, though unlike some of the MSS. it does not use acanthus ornament. The wiry appearance of the interlace is clearly seen here (pl. VI *a*). In other MSS. of the group one sees a tendency to thicken the interlace. Signs of it are to be seen in the Digby initial, though it is less extreme than some others. The black interlace initials are extremely effective book decoration, though they never attain, except in the Trinity Amalarius, the excellence of the sister group.

This second group of initials composed of heads, interlace, and acanthus ornament is on the whole a good deal commoner than the group with black interlace. The chief difference between the two lies in this treatment of the interlace. Whereas in the first group it is black, in the second group it is drawn in outline and not filled in. In the first the interlace has a wiry look about it, in the second it is more like plaited basket-work. In some of the initials the framework of the letter is composed of small pieces of acanthus scroll broken up. Gripping these, and often growing out of them, are the characteristic heads of birds and monsters. These two decorative elements are bound together by the interlace which thickens at certain points in a way which rather recalls Scandinavian monuments. The effect is one of ceaseless and elaborate movement. Though the number of MSS. having these kinds of initials is a fairly large one, it is not possible to arrange them in a satisfactory chronological order. Like the black interlace initials, many of them seem to be of about the year A.D. 1000. Nor is it possible to localize them beyond saying that they are South English. It is interesting to note, however, that one MS. is certainly continental, coming from Saint Bertin at Saint Omer.[1] At the same time it is only fair to say that the decorator of this MS. had a deep and full knowledge of contemporary English illumination.

Two particularly fine examples should, however, be mentioned separately, because they show this group of initials off to the best advantage. They are contemporaries. The first is a copy of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* given like the Trinity Amalarius to Exeter Cathedral by Bishop Leofric, and now in the Bodleian (pl. VI *b*).[2] There are five initials drawn in brown ink with finely drawn details in red and green.[3] The interlace in these initials is particularly characteristic of the group to which they belong, the thickening of certain loops in the interlace as well as the plaited basket-work

[1] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 333. A Gospel-book from the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Bertin at Saint-Omer, in North France. It was probably executed during the reign of Abbot Otbert (986–1007). The style is also reflected in a large Bible at Arras, MS. 559.

[2] Oxford, Bodl. MS. Auct. F. 1. 15 (S.C. 2455). The MS. consists now of two MSS. bound together. Both were given by Leofric to Exeter, see F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of the Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, ii, pp. 373, 374.

[3] ff. 5, 16, 29, 40 verso, 65.

effect being particularly well shown. The second MS., which is also in the Bodleian, is an Arator from St. Augustine's, Canterbury (pl. VI *c*).[1] In it the artist shows himself to be a great master of the style. His initials are more solid in appearance than those in the Boethius. He has, as it were, a greater sense of balance. In the Boethius the interlace shows a tendency to become too exuberant: in the Arator it is evenly set off by the acanthus ornament and the heads.

III

The Eleventh Century

If the history of the development of English initials in the tenth century may be said to be the history of the combination of English and Carolingian elements, the eleventh century, before the Conquest, is that of the gradual fusion of all three initial styles: the Carolingian 'Winchester' initials; the dragon initials; and those composed of heads, interlace, and acanthus. The initials resulting from this fusion may be called the Early Romanesque. In the combination the chief partner is the 'Winchester' acanthus initial, but a considerable use is made of the dragon with the acanthus leaf tail which we saw belonged to the first type of mixed 'insular' and 'Carolingian' initial. On the whole, in the first three-quarters of the century not much use seems to have been made of the second type, though it appears to have made some contribution to the general formation of the style, and, as will be seen, made considerable contributions at the end of the century. There are, however, some new elements. The first is the introduction of the historiated initial, though until the end of the century this is comparatively rare. In this connexion it must be remembered that the historiated initial was not entirely unknown in England before the eleventh century; and was already known on the continent in the ninth century. The second is the introduction of the human figure to form part or all of an initial. This practice was also not wholly unknown to English illuminators in the tenth century. Salisbury 150, a Psalter from the West Country, has two initials in which the human figure has been introduced. This kind of initial is also found in some Merovingian and Carolingian MSS. The most elaborate early example that I can recollect is the early ninth-century Psalter, from Corbie, now at Amiens (pl. VII *a*).[2] It is probable, therefore, that these kinds of initials were introduced into England from the continent, possibly in the second half of the tenth century.

[1] Oxford, Bodl. MS. Rawlinson C. 570. It seems to be no. 1433 in the medieval catalogue of the library of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, see M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. 364. I owe this reference to the kindness of Mr. Neil Ker, of Magdalen College, Oxford, see also N. R. Ker, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 18, see A. Boinet, *La Miniature carolingienne*, pls. CXLVIII, CXLIX.

In the eleventh century these initials with human figures become commoner, and there are three pre-Conquest English MSS. containing initials which are not only composed of the old decorative elements fused together but have these 'anthropoid' initials as well. The first is the Psalter, probably from Winchcombe, now in the University Library at Cambridge.[1] It is not dated exactly, but was probably written between 1020 and 1050. The decoration is very rich and varied, but nearly all of it is executed in outline drawing. The initials are particularly interesting on account of the diversity of the decorative motives employed. Some of the largest initials like the great 'B' at the beginning of the Psalter are purely 'Winchester' acanthus. It has already been compared with the Harley Psalter. Many of the smaller initials are direct descendants of the type I initials formed of complete dragons with acanthus tails. Some have Scandinavian elements about them, particularly a 'D' on f. 37b (pl. VI *d*);[2] and others have the new 'anthropoid' initials. The Cambridge Psalter is one of the first English MSS. to use a type of initial which was to play an important part in the decoration of twelfth-century illuminated MSS. We have only to look at the initial 'C' at the beginning of Psalm ix, where the decoration consists of two diving figures with interlocking legs (pl. VII *b*),[3] and the great standing figure forming the letter 'L' (pl. VII *c*)[4] to see that here are the same elements of decoration as are found in the remarkable MSS. from Cîteaux dating from the early years of the twelfth century.[5]

Two other contemporary MSS. show that the Cambridge Psalter is not an isolated phenomenon. The first is an Anglo-Saxon version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.[6] It is of very much the same date as the Cambridge Psalter. In two initials at least there are signs that the artist understood the use of the anthropoid initial. On p. 61 is an 'E' whose decoration is composed of a dragon of the type I kind, some insignificant acanthus ornament, and a man caught by his neck by a tendril. The style of the figure resembles the outline drawings of the 'Winchester' type and recalls the Psalter from Bury St. Edmunds in the Vatican. On p. 410 is a 'Ð' the upright stroke of which is formed of a figure of Christ on the Cross, the loop being composed of two dragons.[7] The second MS., an Isidore

[1] Cambridge, University Library MS., Ff. i. 23.

[2] Besides the 'D' on f. 37*b*, the following initials seem to have a Scandinavian flavour about them, viz.: ff. 19*b* ('V'), 25 ('D'), 29*b* ('C'), 248*b* ('L').

[3] f. 13 verso.

[4] f. 208 verso.

[5] See C. Oursel, *La Miniature du XII^e siècle à l'Abbaye de Cîteaux.*

[6] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 41, see M. R. James, *Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College*, p. 82, where the initials are described. The MS. was among Leofric's gifts to Exeter.

[7] Sir Eric Maclagan has pointed out to me that the treatment of the edges of the cross resembles that of ivory carvings and in consequence some carved object may be the original of the drawing.

in the British Museum, has only one initial, but it shows the anthropoid initial in its fullest development. It is the letter 'S' and is constructed out of two figures: the one at the top being curved forwards, the lower one backwards (pl. VII *d*).[1] The style of the drawing is of a rather latish 'Winchester' outline type; but the whole spirit of the initial is at the same time extraordinarily reminiscent of the Cîteaux MSS.[2] Whether the spread of this type of initial to Cîteaux is due to direct English influence it is difficult to say. There can be no doubt that the vigorous outline drawing style so popular in England during the eleventh century could be admirably adapted for the production of such initials. Moreover the early Cistercians had close relationship with England.

Before discussing the Post-Conquest eleventh-century MSS. some mention should be made of the initials in two fine Psalters in the British Museum: Cotton MS. Tiberius C. vi of about 1050 and Arundel MS. 60 of about 1060. The latter comes from Winchester. Their ornament affords a fascinating contrast. In the Cotton MS. this is very conservative and is a continuation of 'Winchester' acanthus and type I dragons. They are purely 'Winchester' in style, rather heavy, and the acanthus ornament shows very little of the emaciation found in other eleventh-century MSS. The Arundel MS., on the other hand, belongs to an entirely new order. It has really far more of the twelfth-century Romanesque about it than any of the earlier MSS.;[3] we see in the initials the old 'Winchester' acanthus ornament turning into twelfth-century ornament under our very eyes. The brittle quality of certain eleventh-century acanthus scrolls is no longer here; instead they have rather a rubbery quality. The leaves are beginning to acquire a new body and this effect is enhanced by a new feature in this kind of 'Winchester' acanthus initial. The background of the initial as well as the scroll itself is filled in with a field of colour, which throws up the design into greater relief. In the old initials the scroll stood out against the white background of plain vellum.

IV

Post-Conquest Initials

The scarcity of MSS. which can be shown to have been decorated in England immediately after the Conquest has encouraged the view that the Norman invasion brought English art to such disaster that it only recovered in the first quarter of the twelfth century. In the case of illuminated MSS. this is not true, for we have a group of MSS. from Durham which can be

[1] London, B.M. Royal MS. 6 B. viii, f. 1 verso.

[2] See C. Oursel, *La Miniature du XII^e siècle à l'Abbaye de Cîteaux*, pls. XI, XIII, XV–XX, XXIII, XXV, XXVI.

[3] O. Elfrida Saunders, *English Illuminated MSS.*, i, pl. 29.

dated during the last two decades of the eleventh century, as well as a group from Canterbury of about the same date, perhaps a little later. Immediately after the Conquest the production of MSS. in England was probably very low. This is easily accounted for, because the gradual resettlement of abbeys under Norman abbots and the enforcing of stricter discipline must have absorbed a good deal of the energies of the monks.[1] It would not be until a more regular life was accomplished that any really important activity could be expected in the production and decoration of MSS. The Norman abbots in England encouraged and furthered the business of the Scriptorium, but such encouragement could only bear good fruit in a well-established and disciplined house. In post-Conquest England there were naturally two main influences which could guide the artist in his work. On one side were the new continental ideas to be obtained by way of Normandy and Northern France, sponsored perhaps by Norman abbots and patrons; on the other side the great national heritage of MSS. illuminated in England during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

It is from this aspect of two influences at work on the post-Conquest illuminators that the MSS. from Canterbury and Durham are so interesting. Both show how the two styles combined, the Canterbury initials being in design more continental, the Durham being predominantly English. It is unfortunate, however, that no study has been made of the initials in eleventh-century MSS. from Normandy and the north of France,[2] for it would be of enormous value to know the initial styles of such monasteries as Jumièges and Bec. What is quite certain is that a group of initials in MSS. from Christ Church and St. Augustine's, Canterbury, are in form quite new to English illumination. These initials are composed of animals, monsters, and human figures, who clamber all over the framework of the letter as if using it as a kind of gymnastic appliance. It was noticed further back that rather similar initials are found in earlier English MSS. when it was suggested that the origin of the style may have been North French. In the Canterbury MSS. this gymnastic method is carried to extreme lengths and the effect produced by them is one of fierce, fantastic activity. A number of these initials are to be found in MSS. from Christ Church, Canterbury, now in Trinity College, Cambridge. Dr. James in his catalogue of the Trinity MSS. remarks in passing that they are of interest, but as far as I am aware, they have never been studied. A full examination of them would greatly increase our knowledge of English Romanesque art. It must suffice here to call attention to them. What one really wants to discover about them is whether they come from Bec; because, if they

[1] For an account of this period of English monastic history, see M. D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, Cambridge, 1940, pp. 100–44.

[2] C. Lamprecht, *Initial Ornamentik des VII. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, does not deal with this problem.

do, they were importations made by Lanfranc and St. Anselm. They certainly have parallels in MSS. from the north of France. There is an initial in a MS. now at Amiens ascribed to about 1000 in which a lion, a dragon, and a bird clamber and fly over the frame of the letter.[1] This may be compared with an initial in the important and beautiful Passionale from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in the British Museum, of about 1100 (pl. VIII *c*).[2] The whole construction of the two letters is similar, and the flying bird in the Amiens MS. has exactly the same spirit as the swinging nude in the Canterbury book. Another important and interesting feature of the Canterbury initial is the figure of the archer in the middle of the letter. This lively little figure is a direct descendant of the English outline drawings of the 'Winchester' style. With his immense energy and fluttering draperies he recalls the early eleventh-century copy of the Utrecht Psalter from Canterbury.[3] Surely there can be no doubt that here we have a thoroughly English figure style combining with a form of initial which is certainly continental in origin.[4]

If the old 'Winchester' outline-drawing style survived in the decoration of certain Canterbury MSS., the ornament used in English initials for 100 years before the Conquest also survived, and particularly in the MSS. in the Durham Cathedral Library associated with the name of William of St. Carilef, bishop of Durham between 1081 and 1095.[5] It will be recalled that by bringing Benedictine monks from Monkwearmouth and Jarrow Carilef virtually refounded the Cathedral priory of Durham in 1083. The MSS. were presumably a sort of founder's gift and consist of Biblical works and copies of the Fathers. In a number of them the decoration is abundant, but is confined to the initials. If the motives used in them are examined it will be found that a majority of them are based upon earlier English models.

To take the acanthus ornament first. If we compare the treatment of this type of decoration in the Durham MSS. of the Carilef period with that found in the 'Winchester' school MSS. of about a century earlier it becomes clear that the 'Winchester' acanthus is the parent of the Durham acanthus. There are the same ostrich-feather-like leaves breaking away from the main stem as well as the same twisting and interlocking of the stems. There are, however,

[1] Amiens MS. 24. Another MS. of the same date, Boulogne MS. 20, has on f. 50 a charming little initial of a small nude figure clutching a dragon.

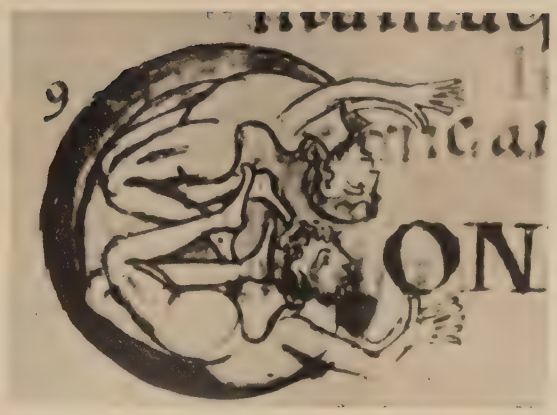
[2] London, B.M. Arundel MS. 91, f. 28 *b*.

[3] London, B.M. Harley MS. 603.

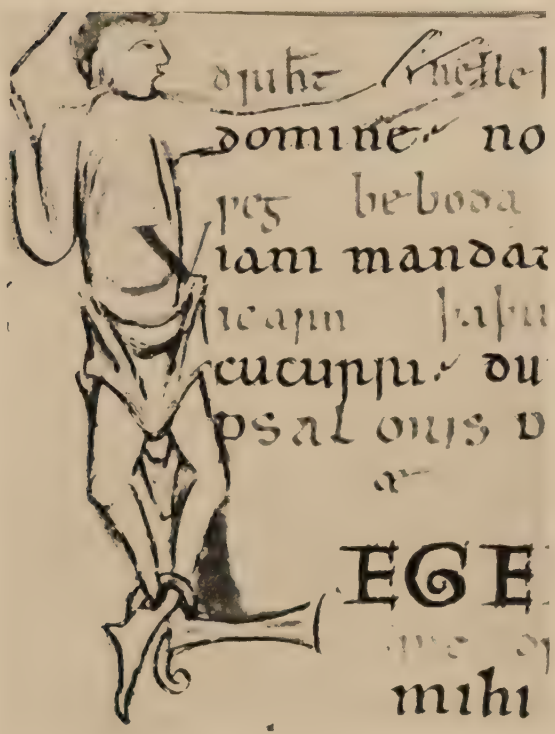
[4] Besides Arundel MS. 91 there are two other Canterbury MSS. in the British Museum whose figure style is pure 'Winchester'. The first, Cotton MS. Vitellius C. xii, see J. A. Herbert, *Schools of Illumination*, Part II, pl. 5 *e*, is a martyrology from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, executed in the first decade of the twelfth century. The second is Cotton MS. Caligula A. viii, lives of saints from Canterbury. The figure of St. Margaret, f. 98, recalls the early eleventh-century illustrations in the Psychomachia of Prudentius, B.M. Add. MS. 24199.

[5] R. A. B. Mynors, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

a. Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 18



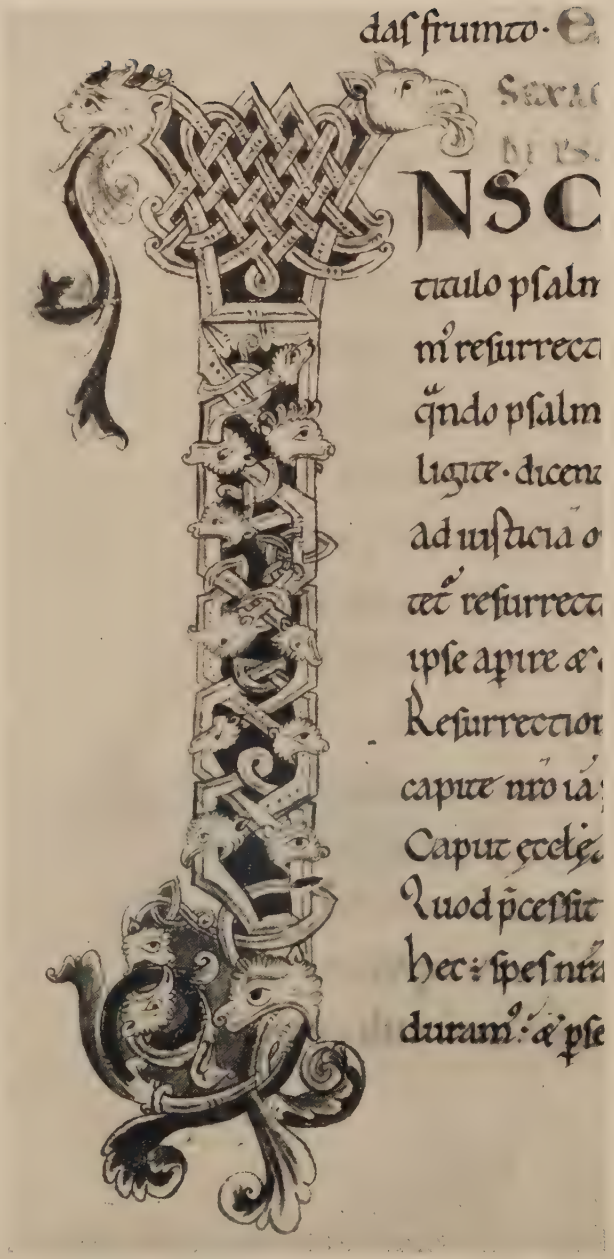
b. Cambridge, University Library MS. Ff. i. 23, f. 13 b



c. Cambridge, University Library MS. Ff. i. 23, f. 208 b

d. London, British Museum, Royal MS. 6 B. viii, f. 1 b

a. Durham, Cathedral Library MS. A. 11. 4, f. 36 verso



b. Durham, Cathedral Library MS. B. 11. 13, f. 72 verso

c. London, British Museum, Arundel MS. 91, f. 28 b

GNOSCEN
DAESI VOX SANCTE
APHERIAE:
ex ipso actulo psalmi huius. Inscribit in fine psalmo
dd: cantacu ieremie aerechielis ex populo transmi

a. Durham, Cathedral Library MS. B. 11. 13, f. 68

tacti urę tanquam filius
xpi. p os luctas antiqru
uerba di. ae magnalia di
se. q fuit eram hoc tepor
oportuno tępe ueu ad nos
excelsius. Primo eni uenit
uenturę iudex sessur. iu
suo gen humanu. Precess
tangm iuducę magnu. ae
uenturu. Multa peones
de uirgine MARIA futur
futuru paruulu. uerbu

b. Durham, Cathedral Library MS. B. 11, 13, f. 215 verso

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PLATE IX

certain changes to be seen. The emaciation seen in MSS. of the second quarter of the eleventh century, like the Cambridge Psalter, is no longer there, and the leaves have taken on a much more solid appearance. It would seem that here we see the transformation of an earlier pattern by the Romanesque spirit. In some cases, however, the Durham initials adhere very closely to their earlier models. On f. 36 verso of the Carilef Bible there is an initial 'I' composed of a panel of acanthus ornament which is nothing more than one side of a 'Winchester' acanthus border provided with finials formed of animals' heads from whose mouths spring acanthus scrolls (pl. VIII *a*).[1] Not all the Durham initials are quite so conservative as this one. A number of them are composed of acanthus scrolls of the 'Winchester' type, but the artist has introduced into them figures of men and monsters. This idea of an inhabited acanthus scroll is not new to English art. In illuminated MSS. it may be seen in the border of the Athelstan miniature in the Corpus Christi Life of St. Cuthbert and in the Junius Psalter 'D' initial.[2] It is not, however, until the middle of the eleventh century that human beings inhabit the scroll in English MSS. The earliest example seems to be the 'B' in Arundel 60 of about 1060 (pl. I *c*).[3] If we compare the 'B' in the Arundel Psalter with one in the Carilef Bible we shall find that the construction of the initials is quite the same; the interlace with heads on the finials of the upright, the same sweeping acanthus with the figures in it (pl. I *d*).[4] In the Durham MS. the mask is missing at the juncture of the two loops of the letter. In the Arundel Psalter this inhabited scroll is a rarity, in the Carilef Bible it is frequently used.

It was not only the 'Winchester' acanthus scroll which the Durham illuminators took over from Anglo-Saxon MSS. We find signs of the influence of both the types of mixed insular and continental initial ornament as well as of the 'anthropoid' initial. In fact the entire vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxon initial styles was taken over by the Durham artists, incorporated into their initials, and developed into their own style. The magnificent initial 'L' at the beginning of St. Matthew in the Carilef Bible is composed of an angel standing on a dragon which has a bunch of acanthus for a tail.[5] The angel is quite in the English manner and recalls the English drawings of the middle of the eleventh century. The dragon is also an English creation and is taken from the type I initials, though he has grown more robust in the course of years and from contact with Romanesque ideas. An even more remarkable instance of the derivation from earlier English initials is an 'I' on f. 72 verso of Durham

[1] Durham Cathedral MS. A. II. 4, in Mynors, *op. cit.*, p. 33, no. 30.
[2] See plate IV *b*, *c*.
[3] London, B.M. Arundel MS. 60, f. 13.
[4] Durham MS. A. II. 4, f. 65, reproduced by Mynors, *op. cit.*, pl. 16.
[5] Mynors, *op. cit.*, pl. 17.

MS. B. ii. 13, where the body of the initial is composed of an elaborate pattern of gripping heads derived from the second type of mixed initial. The top of the initial, on the other hand, is a development of a 'Winchester' initial derived from the Franco-Saxon MSS. with interlace and two heads forming the pattern (pl. VIII *b*). An initial 'A' on f. 68 of the same MS. shows how the gripping heads and interlace were combined with the inhabited scroll. The fundamental construction of this letter is a piece of 'Winchester' acanthus. Part of this has however, been broken up by an interlace with heads in much the same way as some of the type II initials. The loops at the ends and middle are filled with dragons, lions, and a man who clutches at the scroll (pl. IX *a*).

Besides the initials which appear to be derived from purely English sources, there are a number which indicate that the Durham artists had some knowledge of the continental 'gymnastic' initial so popular at Canterbury Indeed two MSS. at Durham have purely gymnastic initials.[1] One is probably a Canterbury production. Two MSS. show that their artists were capable of combining the gymnastic initial with English decoration. This is particularly well shown in an 'F' in B. 11. 13 (pl. IX *b*).[2] The upright of the letter is clearly derived from the 'gymnastic' initial with its two monsters twisting in and out of the edge of the letter. The cross strokes, however, show purely English influence with the inhabited scrolls, the gripping heads, and interlace. In view of the fact that we know that at least one Canterbury MS. was at Durham in the late eleventh century it is likely that the 'gymnastic' initial was introduced there from Canterbury, where it was fused into the already known English elements.

The existence of a vigorous English tradition at Durham is not surprising. When William of St. Carilef brought the Benedictines back in 1083 the monks came from Monkwearmouth and Jarrow.[3] The new prior, Aldwin, was one of the three pioneers of the monastic revival in the north of England during the second half of the eleventh century which had spread from the great West Midland Abbeys of Evesham and Winchcombe.[4] Aldwin himself came from Winchcombe, his companions, Reinfrid and Aelfwig, from Evesham. It is known that the monasteries in the Worcester neighbourhood had maintained a high level of spirituality during the course of the eleventh century and had escaped the drastic reforming zeal of the Normans. Durham was, therefore, in the direct line of descent from Anglo-Saxon monasticism. We know that

[1] Durham MS. B. 11. 22, see Mynors, *op. cit.*, pl. 22 and p. 36 note. Also Durham MS. B. 11. 10, f. 1 verso, see Mynors, *op. cit.*, pl. 26. The hand of this MS. has many Canterbury characteristics.

[2] f. 215 verso.

[3] Simeon of Durham, *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series, i, p. 121.

[4] See M. D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, pp. 159–71.

Aldwin brought liturgical books with him to the North, but whether they were decorated is not known. The English part of the Durham initials which is really the dominating one is probably explained, therefore, by the persistence of a vigorous English artistic tradition among the Northern monasteries of which Durham was the chief.

The initials in English MSS. about 1100, as shown by the Canterbury and Durham MSS., are interesting then as reflecting the amount of Norman influence in the English abbeys after the Conquest. Just as the English religious houses were reformed and set in order by contact with the vigorous Norman monasticism, so the English illuminators received fresh energy and inspiration from abroad. Canterbury, the centre of the reforms of Lanfranc and Anselm, has what at first sight appears to be a very continental style of initial, yet the figures in those initials are often surprisingly English. Durham, the healthy child of the latest flowering of Anglo-Saxon monasticism, has many more of the earlier English styles in it. Yet both groups of MSS. show this tendency to fuse English and continental work. This combining of English and continental which characterizes the style of early twelfth-century illumination in England is the reflection of the whole policy of the monastic reform: to take what was best in England and to develop it by contact with continental ideas. To say, then, that there was a complete break at the Conquest between Anglo-Saxon and subsequent English illumination is not true. The Durham and the Canterbury MSS. both show that pre-Conquest English art was still vigorous enough to take a lead in one place and in the other to be no sleeping partner in the formation of English twelfth-century illumination.

Note.—The writer is greatly indebted to Mr. T. D. Kendrick for kind permission to reproduce his photographs on pls. II *d*, IV *a*, *b*, V *c*, *d* as well as for much good advice, and also to the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral for permission to reproduce pls. I *d*, VIII *a*, *b*, IX *a*, *b*.

APPENDIX I

Note on the term 'Winchester school'

It is becoming increasingly difficult to regard the term 'Winchester school' as anything more than a convenient label to describe drawings and illuminations produced in England during the tenth and early part of the eleventh centuries under the influence of the great monastic revival associated with the names of St. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and St. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester. While it is admitted that very fine examples exist which are known to be associated with Winchester, such as the New Minster Charter of 966 (B.M. Cotton MS. Vespasian A. viii), the Benedictional of

Archbishop Robert at Rouen (Bibliothèque Municipale MS. Y. 7); recent researches by Mr. Tolhurst ('An Examination of Two Anglo-Saxon MSS. of the Winchester School' in *Archaeologia*, lxxxiii, 27–44) and by Mr. Charles Niver (*op. cit.*) have shown that the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, Rouen Bibliothèque Municipale MS. Y. 6, the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, and B.M. Harley MS. 2904 cannot really be demonstrated as coming from Winchester. On the other hand they all have strong affinities to the two Winchester books. There is a perfectly valid reason for this. Mr. Tolhurst has shown that both the Missal of Robert of Jumièges and the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold have connexions with Ely. Now St. Ethelwold refounded Ely monastery, so that it is only reasonable to suppose that the illuminators of Ely were influenced by those of Winchester. The same argument applies to the Harley Psalter. Mr. Niver proves that this MS. was executed for a monastery in the Fens. The choice of abbeys seems to lie between Thorney and Ramsey. Both were mid-tenth-century refoundations, the first by St. Ethelwold, the second by St. Oswald, and were, in consequence, influenced by the art of this monastic reforming movement. In the same way Christ Church, Canterbury, probably absorbed this sort of art. The late Dr. Armitage Robinson gave very good reasons in an article on 'The Early Community at Christ Church, Canterbury', in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxvii, 225–40, for believing that the community of clerks was changed into one of monks at the end of the tenth century under either Archbishop Sigeric or his successor Aelfric. These monks seem to have followed the Ethelwold monastic Customary known as the *Regularis Concordia* which was a Winchester production. Their liturgical practices as shown in the Christ Church calendars and litanies have also a markedly Winchester flavour. There is, therefore, little surprise to be shown at the fact that a number of finely illuminated MSS. possibly from Canterbury, e.g. the Gospels in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. B. 10. 4; B.M. Royal MS. 1 D. ix; and the Gospels given by Sir John Kederminster to Langley Marish church in Buckinghamshire, see *B.M. Quarterly*, vi, 93, pl. xxxviii, as well as B.M. Arundel MS. 155, are all decorated in the sumptuous 'Winchester' way. Bury St. Edmunds Abbey was a child of Ely and certainly inherited its fine outline-drawing style from there. The famous Psalter in the Vatican, Reginensis lat. 12, bears witness to this. This evidence seems to indicate a fact which has never been denied, that Winchester must have been an important centre of illumination, and a disseminator of this style; but that the style was invented there is a much more difficult thing to prove. Glastonbury, whence this monastic reform spread, certainly shows the same style in its outline drawings and acanthus borders. In the additions made about 970 to the ninth-century Sacramentary known as the Leofric Missal, now Oxford, Bodl. MS. 579, there are outline drawings and borders executed in the 'Winchester' manner. These additions have been shown to have an undoubted Glastonbury origin, see F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal*, pp. xliii–liv, and E. Bishop, *The Bosworth Psalter*, pp. 15–21, yet the figure drawing is in many ways close to the New Minster Charter. Another important drawing is the picture from Glastonbury of St. Dunstan kneeling at the feet of Christ, Oxford, Bodl. MS. 578, f. 1. Its date has been given as late tenth century, but this is probably too late as the hand of the inscriptions seems to be closer to the scripts of the earlier part of the second half of the tenth century. Moreover the figure of the Christ looks earlier than other drawings associated

with the end of the century. A further point which should not be overlooked is the resemblance between the profile of St. Dunstan kneeling at the feet of Christ and a head forming one of the initial letters in the MS. known as the Durham Ritual, dated by Mr. Mynors as early tenth century, though it may be a little later. Now Glastonbury was the originator of the English Benedictine revival of the tenth century and Abingdon was refounded from there, and, in turn, the New Minster at Winchester from Abingdon. It is unfortunate that we have no highly illuminated MSS. of this period from Abingdon, but there can be very little doubt that they must have approximated to the general 'Winchester' style, as did Glastonbury.

The great question has always been whether students of illuminated MSS. could say with any degree of certainty that books decorated in this style were produced at Winchester and from there sent out to other monasteries The evidence just produced does not, I believe, warrant this view. What we have is a number of finely illuminated books, all showing signs of being influenced by Carolingian illuminated MSS. Some of these come from Winchester, some others from one or other of the English abbeys flourishing at that time. There is really no evidence that Winchester had a monopoly of the production of these MSS. As the seat of a very important bishopric and two powerful abbeys many books must have been produced there, but Canterbury, Glastonbury, and the Fen monasteries doubtless had their illuminators who were brought up in the new continental style. The conclusion of the tale must be that the 'Winchester' school does not denote a style which can be localized at Winchester, but a style common to the reformed English monasteries of the tenth and eleventh centuries among which were the Winchester monasteries.

APPENDIX II

MSS. with initials derived from types found in Oxford, Bodl. MS. Junius 27

(The list makes no pretension to being complete)

Type I

Initials composed of complete creatures (dragons or birds), interlace, acanthus, and a modified use of bird and animal heads:

1. *Boulogne*, MS. 10, Amalarius, De Ecclesiasticis Officiis, second half of tenth century.
2. *Boulogne*, MS. 82, Amalarius, second half of the tenth century.
3. *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College*, MS. 41. Bede, Ecclesiastical History, in Old English, *c.* 1020–1050. Human figures are also used in constructing some of the initials.
4. *Cambridge, Trinity College*, MS. B. 11. 2, Amalarius, second half of the tenth century.
5. *Cambridge, University Library*, MS. Ff. i. 23, Psalter, with Old English gloss, probably from Winchcombe, *c.* 1020–1050. This MS. like no. 3 has also some initials composed of human figures.

6. *London, B.M.*, Cotton MS. Caligula A. vii, Heliand MS., second half of tenth century.
7. *London, B.M.* Harley MS. 585, Charms, etc., in Old English, *c.* 1100. Some initials introduce animals, etc.
8. *London, B.M.* Harley MS. 5431, Rule of St. Benedict, from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, late tenth century. This MS. also has initials of type I, group 1, style.
9. *London, B.M.* Royal MS. 6. A. vii, Life of St. Gregory, early eleventh century.
10. *London, Lambeth Palace*, MS. 200, Aldhelm, De Laude Virginitatis, belonged at one time to Waltham Abbey, *c.* 1000. The initials and script in this MS. are very close to no. 8.
11. *Oxford, Bodl.* MS. Junius 11, Caedmon, Poems, from Christ Church, Canterbury, second quarter of eleventh century.
12. *Salisbury Cathedral*, MS. 150, Psalter, with Old English gloss, from the West Country, 959-978. Some of the initials in this MS. introduce animals and human figures.
13. *Vercelli Cathedral*, The Vercelli Codex, f. 49 recto, second half of tenth century, is in this style.

Type II, Group 1

These initials are distinguished by the use of a thin, black, wiry interlace. The body of the initial is often black with a thin white line. A very early type of this initial may be seen in Oxford, Bodl. MS. Hatton 60, *c.* 900, see T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pl. CI. Bodl. MS. Auct. F. 4. 23 also shows a primitive version.

1. *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College*, MS. 326, Aldhelm, De Laude Virginitatis, from Christ Church, Canterbury, *c.* 1000.
2. *Cambridge, Trinity College*, MS. B. 11. 2, Amalarius, De Ecclesiasticis Officiis, *c.* 975. This MS. was given by Leofric to Exeter Cathedral, *c.* 1070.
3. *Cambridge, Trinity College*, MS. O. 3. 7, from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, *c.* 1000.
4. *London, B.M.* Harley MS. 110, Prosper, *c.* 1000.
5. *London, B.M.* Harley MS. 5431, Rule of St. Benedict, from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, late tenth century.
6. *London, B.M.* Royal MS. 5 E. xi, Aldhelm, De Laude Virginitatis, *c.* 1000.
7. *London, B.M.* Royal MS. 15 B. xix, Sedulius, Poems, second half tenth century.
8. *London, Lambeth Palace*, MS. 200, Aldhelm, De Laude Virginitatis, *c.* 1000. This MS. also contains type I initials.
9. *London, Lambeth Palace*, MS. 204, St. Gregory, etc., from Ely, *c.* 1000.
10. *Salisbury Cathedral*, MS. 38, Aldhelm, De Laude Virginitatis, *c.* 1000.

Type II, Group 2

Initial forms derived from Junius 27. Heads of dragons and birds, interlace, acanthus leaves. Usually drawn in outline with a sparing use of colour.

1. *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College*, MS. 23, Prudentius, from Malmesbury, but probably not written there, early eleventh century.
2. *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College*, MS. 57, Martyrology, etc., from Abingdon, late tenth century.

3. *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College,* MS. 274, St. Ambrose, *c.* 1000.
4. *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College,* MS. 389, Vita Pauli, from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, *c.* 1000.
5. *Cambridge, Trinity College,* MS. B. 14. 3, Arator, from Christ Church, Canterbury, *c.* 1000.
6. *Cambridge, Trinity College,* MS. O. 2. 31, Disticha Catonis, *c.* 1000.
7. *London, B.M.* Add. MS. 37517, Psalter (The Bosworth Psalter), from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, second half of tenth century.
8. *London, B.M.* Royal MS. 12 C. xxiii, *c.* 1000.
9. *London, Lambeth Palace,* MS. 200, Aldhelm, De Laude Virginitatis, *c.* 1000.
10. *New York, Pierpont Morgan Library,* MS. 333, Gospels, from Saint Bertin at Saint-Omer, early eleventh century.
11. *Oxford, Bodl.* MS. Bodl. 718, Penitential of Archbishop Egbert, *c.* 1000. Given by Leofric to Exeter.
12. *Oxford, Bodl.* MS. Rawlinson C. 570, Arator, etc., from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, late tenth century.
13. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,* fonds latin 943, Sherborne Pontifical, 992–995.
14. *Kew, Surrey, Library of Sir Sydney Cockerell,* Boethius, with gloss, *c.* 1000, formerly in Askew and Wodhull Collections.

N.B.—The initials in the following three MSS. which date from after 1050 apparently derive from initials of the two types mentioned above.

1. *London, B.M.* Cotton MS. Nero E. 1, Passionale from Worcester, additions about 1060–1070. The initials in this part approximate to type II, group 2, but a good deal of body colour is used.
2. *London, B.M.* Harley MS. 585, Charms in Old English, *c.* 1100. These initials are derived from type I, but have been modified by the introduction of later motives.
3. *London, B.M.* Harley MS. 865, Ambrose, etc., from St. Albans, last quarter of the eleventh century. The initials are derived from type II, group 2. A good deal of body colour is used.

III.—*Stefan von Haschenperg, an Engineer to King Henry VIII, and his Work*

By B. H. St. J. O'Neil, *Esq., F.S.A.*

For some years before 1538 the politics of western Europe had been dominated by the mutual jealousy of the Emperor Charles V and Francis I, king of France. Henry VIII's diplomacy had often tended to increase the tension between them, since it was clearly in England's interest to divide her potential enemies. The Pope on the other hand sought to reconcile them, and in June 1538 he succeeded so far as to negotiate a truce for ten years between the rivals.

The time was, therefore, ripe for the Pope's long cherished scheme, a combined descent upon England, in order to re-establish his authority. He preached a crusade, comparing Henry with the Turk, and no doubt confidently expected that many of Henry's subjects would welcome their deliverance, once an expedition set foot upon England.

Henry's reply was, first of all to remove the last possible rivals to his throne, and secondly to equip the coasts opposite the continent with the best available defences. His subjects ably assisted him in his preparations, just as they condoned the ruthless destruction of his potential supplanters. Fortifications were constructed to counter any attempted landings, and new castles or blockhouses were erected at many suitable strategic points.[1]

Apart from the urgent necessity of these works of defence another of the king's difficulties must have been the scarcity of native architects or craftsmen, who were skilled in the designs of the required buildings. There cannot have been a large school of them in England, for they had had little practice in the art of up-to-date fortification. Few phenomena in the study of fortification are more marked than the manner in which the forts of *c.* 1540 spring Phoenix-like from the dying embers of the medieval castle. Examples of a more primitive type, from which the forts of 1540 may have been evolved, are exceedingly rare in this country, because wars or threats of war had been few. Works had been undertaken in and around Calais and at a few other places, such as Dartmouth, Dover, and Plymouth, but these can have provided employment for only a very few designers or architects. Henry had, therefore, to look further afield for his engineers.

In the second half of the fifteenth century the French were in advance of their neighbours in the practice of siegecraft. Large guns, capable of battering down the strongest walls, enabled them under Charles VII to drive the English

[1] *v.* A. F. Pollard, *Henry VIII* (1934), 372 ff.

from their country, and in the campaign of 1494–5 Charles VIII of France reduced many Italian cities and citadels by this means. The French had also found the key to the new difficulties which confronted the defenders in consequence of the increased power of artillery. They used revetted earthworks as a reply to heavy guns. Even if the wall of a fortress had been breached, it was found that the subsequent assault could be countered by digging behind the breach a deep ditch, backed by a high earthen rampart. The besiegers could then be assailed with fire from the rampart, from casemates built actually in the ditch, and from large semicircular buttresses of revetted earth, which were usually built at each end of such a defence.[1]

With these advantages in the art of war the success of Charles VIII is not surprising, but the Italians were apt pupils. In a very short time they assimilated and applied the lessons which they had been taught, and before long they had become the acknowledged masters in the science of fortification. Under present circumstances a comprehensive survey of the fortifications of that time in France and Italy is out of the question. It must suffice to quote from a recent, very scholarly publication[2] certain examples of towers at Verona, which seem to indicate the line of development, which led to the castles built by Henry VIII in England.

In 1517 Verona came once again under the sway of Venice, having been for nine years in the possession of the Emperor Maximilian. The battles fought near it during those years had shown the deficiencies of the city's defences, and about 1520 the work of refortification was seriously taken in hand. The bastions of this work, for part of which at least Michele dai Leoni was responsible, are with one exception round. They include the bastions of S. Toscana (*c.* 1520), S. Zeno in Monte and della Grotta (probably 1520), della Boccola (completed in 1522), S. Giorgio (dated by inscription to 1525), S. Procolo and S. Spirito (probably of the same period), and the Baluardo della Boccare, built between 1520 and 1522. The last named seems to have been the largest of the series and was probably built by Michele dai Leoni, the architect who preceded Michele Sanmicheli as the builder of fortifications at Verona. Michele dai Leoni was also responsible for the Baluardo delle Maddalene. This was presumably built after 1525, since it is not round in plan, but angular, anticipating in this respect the work of Michele Sanmicheli at the city after 1530. Thus it appears that in this important city, where fortifications were in course of erection for a generation, the year 1525 marks the time when the use of round bastions was discontinued.

[1] F. L. Taylor, *The Art of War in Italy, 1494–1529* (Cambridge, 1921), 130–1.

[2] Eric Langenskiold, *Michele Sanmicheli, the Architect of Verona* (Uppsala, 1938, in English), 156. The writer is indebted to Mr. J. T. Mann for drawing his attention to this book.

Most of the bastions that have been mentioned, seem to have been of a type that is seen also commonly in early prints of German towns. Their walls have a considerable batter up to a string course, above which is a thick parapet, pierced by gunports; embrasures for guns usually occur also at ground level. The interiors of the bastions are often open to the sky. Except as an indication of the general trend of the science of fortification they are not of much value in tracing the origin of the work of Henry VIII. There is, however, one bastion at Verona, which may be of greater assistance, the Baluardo della Boccare, already mentioned as being probably the work of Michele dai Leoni between 1520 and 1522. It is illustrated by plan and sketch in the work already quoted,[1] and is there described as follows: 'It is a round bastion in two storeys, in which the roof of the lower is supported by a tuff column. Oval apertures in the vault allow the powder smoke to escape, and the walls are thinner than is usual in Michele's bastions. There is a strong parapet and fire bench on the platform, probably added by Michele, who clearly must have rebuilt the bastion, which in his above-mentioned letter is called Torion Valdonega.' The Michele referred to is Michele Sanmicheli. The illustrations show that this bastion is bigger than the other round examples, and must closely resemble in some particulars certain of the works undertaken by Henry VIII, *c.* 1540 (e.g. Deal, Walmer, St. Mawes, Pendennis castles). It has a wall battered down from a string course at the level of the base of the parapet, but the latter, although sloping, is not rounded. The gunports at ground level have equal internal and external splays and their openings to the field are semicircular or triangular in elevation.[2] There is little doubt that other examples of the kind exist or once existed in Italy.

Meanwhile, as was only natural, the new art was not neglected amongst the Germans, and the measure of its development in their country can be gauged from the fact that the earliest printed work on the subject is in German. It is by Albrecht Dürer, who is known to have advised the Magistrates on the town fortifications of Antwerp in 1520–1.[3] His work[4] first appeared at Nürnberg in 1527, and shows fortifications of the same general character as those erected by Henry VIII in 1540. In particular Dürer's illustrations show the rounded parapets and the smoke vents, which occur freely in the English works, but his gunports, both on plan and in elevation, appear to be smaller and less advanced, i.e. with less external splay, than those of the best work done for Henry VIII.

[1] *Ibid.*, and figs. 74 and 75.

[2] For some of these details see Bodo Ebhart, *Wehrbauten Veronas*, taf. 20. The writer is indebted to Dr. W. Douglas Simpson for lending him a copy of this work.

[3] J. Wegg, *Antwerp, 1477–1559*, 100.

[4] *Etliche underricht, zu befestigung der Stett, Schloss, und flecken.*

They resemble those of Sandgate Castle rather than those of Portland Castle; this fact is significant, as will appear later.

Few of the engineers employed by Henry on his fortifications are known even by name, and of fewer still is it possible to trace the full career. It does, however, happen that the state documents contain sufficient references to one of them, Stefan von Haschenperg, to enable a complete picture to be obtained of his sojourn in this realm, no doubt because he was continuously in the royal employ.

Except that he was a 'gentleman of Moravia' nothing is known for certain of Stefan von Haschenperg before 1539. It is likely that he was a scion of the noble family, which spelt its name variously as Haschinberk, Hasenberg, etc., although he himself always spells the end of his name *-perg* not *-berg*, but inquiry of the Osterreichisches Kriegsarchiv (Vienna) failed to reveal that he was known in his own country as a military engineer either before or after his residence in England.

As far as is known Haschenperg's first employment in England was in 1539 when he is found as the 'devisor' of Sandgate Castle, near Hythe, Kent. Actually his first occurrence in the state documents is in a letter, which he wrote in Latin to Cromwell from Deal on 12th April of that year. In it he describes an encounter with some Polish seamen, who put ashore in Kent from a passing ship.[1] It is not known why he was at Deal at a time when the work at Sandgate had already begun, but he went to the Downs twice from Folkestone in the second month at Sandgate.[2]

The building accounts of Sandgate Castle are preserved[3] and the information contained in them has been collated in an interesting article by W. L. Rutton.[4] The accounts or 'leger of the workes' comprise two folio volumes, together totalling 350 pages. The first volume contains nine books, one for each month from 30th March to 7th December 1539; the second volume has ten books for the ten succeeding months until 2nd October 1540. There was a period between 20th December 1539 and 12th January 1540 when work was closed down.

For the first nine months Thomas Cocks and Richard Keys were the Commissioners for the work, but they did not sign the accounts. Each page of the ledger bears the signature of Stefan von Haschenperg and others such as the master-mason and master-carpenter. Haschenperg places the letters *ic* after his name, no doubt an abbreviation for *iconomus* or director.[5]

[1] *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic* (1539), xiv, i, 363, no. 755.
[2] *Arch. Cant.*, xx, 247.
[3] *Lett. and Pap. F. and D.*, xiv, ii, 234–7, no. 645, and xvi, 57, no. 113.
[4] *Arch. Cant.*, xx, 228–57.
[5] *Ibid.*, 247.

After the ninth month Thomas Cocks no longer appears as Commissioner; Richard Keys remains as Paymaster and Reynold Scott is Surveyor or Comptroller. The accounts for the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth months are signed by Scott, Haschenperg, Pallmer, the master-carpenter, and Lynsted, master-mason. After that, i.e. after 21st March 1540, Haschenperg's signature does not occur, although the other three signatures occur until the end of the accounts. It is, however, clear that Haschenperg was not continuously resident at the castle even during the twelfth month, for in that period it is recorded that the master-carpenter and master-mason went to London 'to know the devisor's mind concerning his work in the Castle of Sandgate'. In the thirteenth and later months 'the devisor's clerk'[1] is mentioned. It is probable that the work was well advanced, and that Haschenperg was able to leave the details of planning to a deputy, whilst he proceeded with other work in London and elsewhere.

Considerable difficulty seems to have been caused by his foreign name and to obviate this he is referred to both at Sandgate and elsewhere as 'Stephen the Almayn', 'M^{R} Stephyn the devisor', or even simply as 'the Alman'.

It is interesting to notice a difference of opinion concerning the roofing of the castle between Haschenperg and Thomas Cocks, the Comptroller or Commissioner. The latter wrote to Cromwell on 3rd September 1539: 'The castle at Sandgate, within your lordship of Folkestone, is well brought forward. Three towers are ready to be covered; which Stephen the Almain, devisor of the said castle, would have covered with canvas, pitch, and tar. Thinks lead would be better, of which there is enough to cover the whole castle.'[2] Cocks's view prevailed, for in the seventh month lead was prepared for three round towers and there are also later references to the use of this material on roofs.[3]

Haschenperg's remuneration does not appear in the Sandgate account. On 20th October 1539 he was granted an annuity of £60,[4] and amongst Cromwell's Remembrances there is a note for his Bill to be signed.[5] On 25th July 1540 the annuity was increased to £75.[6] Three receipts for his pay at 4*s.* per day, are preserved.[7] These may date from before the grant of the annuity.

It seems clear from this account of Haschenperg's activities that his title of devisor distinguishes him as the architect or engineer of the fabric.

Sandgate Castle was largely remodelled during the Napoleonic Wars and made into a glorified Martello Tower, but the Gatehouse is almost intact and certain other original features still remain. The structure has been well described with a 'restored' plan by W. L. Rutton.[8] Surveys of 1616 and 1623 exist, but

[1] John Shotford, v. *ibid.*, 247.
[2] *Lett. and Pap. F. and D.* (1539), xiv, ii, 37, no. 123.
[3] *Arch. Cant.*, xx, 244.
[4] *Lett. and Pap. F. and D.* (1539), xiv, ii, 158, no. 435 (33).
[5] *Ibid.*, 126, no. 358.
[6] *Ibid.* (1540), 478, no. 942 (108).
[7] *Add. MSS.* 5754, fols. 90–2, see *Arch. Cant.*, xx, 246.
[8] *Arch. Cant.*, xx, 228–57.

Rutton does not seem to have been aware of a somewhat earlier drawing of the castle, which is amongst the Hatfield House manuscripts. This is here published (pl. x) by the kind permission of the marquis of Salisbury and of the Trustees of the British Museum. The plan is not dated, but internal evidence from the collection generally suggests a date before 1600.

The drawing is presented in an isometric manner, facing across the channel, with north approximately at the bottom. At the top from left to right the words 'Fraunce' and 'Bullen' occur, followed by 'B.....', perhaps 'Bullen' wrongly written and erased or smudged out. On the English shore left to right are: 'Folkestone', 'wayes', 'Saker', 'Shorren Clyff', 'Water myle', 'Hethe'; above the last is 'The Haven of Hethe'. Flanking the castle the word 'Beache' occurs twice. Above the left 'Beache' is 'Colverin of yron' beside a gun and over the castle itself 'Sandgate Castle Beache stone'. In the middle of the castle between two guns the word 'Sakers' is written and below it beside another gun 'minion yron'. Between the main castle and the outer wall at the left-hand side is 'this barbecan 30 foote brode', whilst just above the projecting gatehouse there is the legend 'the passedge into the castell'. The single word left of this beside the outer wall is 'stairs'.

All the other ten legends read 'uncovered', and, if this is a true statement, it follows that the central tower and the wide passage to it were the only parts of the castle which were roofed when the drawing was made. This is the more surprising because the building accounts refer specifically to lead for three round towers in the seventh month,[1] and there can be little doubt from the terms of the difference of opinion between Cocks and Haschenperg, already mentioned, that it was intended to cover in the towers completely. Furthermore the survey of 1623 mentions that the roof of the NW. and NE. bulwarks were covered with lead.[2] There is another discrepancy between the Hatfield drawing and the later surveys. The account of 1616 refers to a gun-platform or 'mount upon the outward wall next the sea', 100 ft. long and 18 ft. wide; later, according to Rutton, eight guns were mounted on it.[3] It is therefore possible that the Hatfield drawing accompanied an earlier survey, taken 50 or 60 years after the castle was built, when few of the roofs were in repair. Perhaps for this reason most of them were then described as 'uncovered'. They may have been repaired soon afterwards, perhaps at the same time as the southern gun-platform was built. In Buck's print (1735) this platform has a turret with cupola of seventeenth-century type.[4]

It is not intended in this paper to make any detailed comments on Rutton's general account of the castle in the light of the evidence supplied by the Hatfield

[1] *Ibid.*, 244.
[2] *Ibid.*, 253.
[3] *Ibid.*, 252–3.
[4] *Ibid.*, opp. 252.

House drawing, but rather to use the illustration in assessing the value of Haschenperg's work.

Apart from the unusual ground plan the most prominent features of the typical castles of 1540, such as Pendennis, St. Mawes or Portland (pl. xv *c*), are the rounded parapets and the wide external splays of the embrasures and gunports. The rounded parapets were designed to minimize the effect of shots which hit the walls, and the wide splays were constructed to increase the field of fire of the guns. The development of the splay has already been outlined in these pages.[1] There is some reason for suspecting that Henry VIII himself gave attention to the matter, for 'splaies as the Kinges grace hath devised' are twice mentioned in the 'Device for the fortification of Calais' in 1532.[2]

In the Hatfield House drawing of Sandgate Castle there is no indication of rounded parapets, and the fact that Buck shows them in his print is of no value as evidence, since there are other manifest signs of inaccuracy in this print as in others from the same source. On the other hand the Hatfield House drawing shows all the gunports and perhaps also the embrasures in the parapets with wide external splays. This evidence can now only be checked in the Gate-house, where, as will be seen later, it is inaccurate.[3] As regards Haschenperg's work, therefore, the only comment possible from the drawing is that it does not seem to be as advanced as that of the contemporary examples elsewhere along the coast. An assessment of its value, based upon the surviving original masonry, occurs later in the paper.

On 1st November 1540 Haschenperg was ordered to repair to court.[4] He was at once dispatched to Calais. On 8th November the Privy Council wrote from Windsor to the Lord Deputy there as follows: 'The King desires to have a "platt" of the whole Marches and sends the bearer, Steven the Almayn, a man very expert in those things, to "peruse" the said Marches with the Surveyor and make the said platt. He need not know any of the secrets of the town or fortresses.' [Insertion in Wriothesley's hand: 'And in the said platt the ground about Cow Bridge and passages of the river to be specially set out; so that if the King should be disposed to make fortifications upon the same he may know the best places and the effect for defence.'[5]]

On 13th November Lord Maltravers replied thus: 'This 13 Nov., I and the rest of the Council being assembled, Stephen the Almayne delivered me your letters dated Windsor the 8th for a "platte" to be made of the town and

[1] *Archaeologia*, lxxxv, 143–4.

[2] MS. Cotton Faustina, E. vii, fols. 33–8. Printed in *The Chronicle of Calais*, Camden Soc., no. 35 (1845), 126, 128.

[3] No doubt the drawing is purely conventional. The disposition of the gunports is also wrong.

[4] *Lett. and Pap. F. and D.* (1540–1541), xvi, 99, no. 221.

[5] *Ibid.*, 107, no. 248.

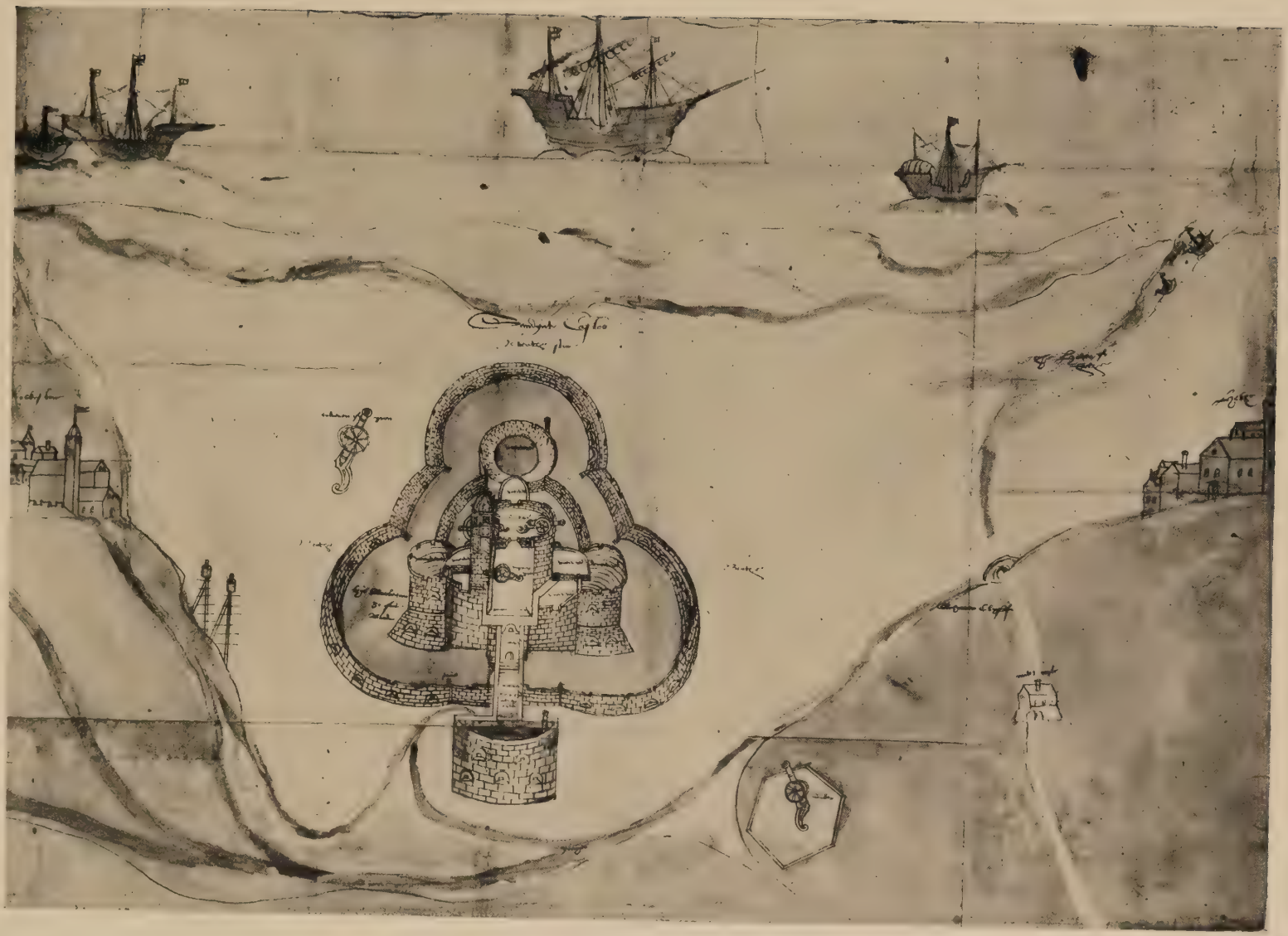
marches without letting the said Stephen know the secrets of the fortifications etc. Consulted my fellows and ("the late departure into England of the Surveyor, not returning before Christmas, considered") as there is none here meet to join with the said Stephen and he is not to know the secrets of the fortifications, have stayed him till we hear again from you. It will be hard to hide the secrets of the fortresses from him.'[1]

The Privy Council replied to this on 16th November by instructing Lord Maltravers 'to appoint Fras. Hall, in the Surveyor's abscence, to join Stephen th' Almain in making the platt of the marches about Cowbridge'.[2]

The historical setting of Haschenperg's mission is set out in the Camden Society's volume 35[3] and need only be summarized here. The French had recently built or strengthened the castle of Ardres and had also encroached on English territory at or near Cowbridge. Lord Maltravers promptly broke up the passage, whereupon the French remade it. The English broke it again and letters 'somewhat poygnant and pickyng upon both sydes' passed between the two parties. The Privy Council encouraged Maltravers to use his judgement in the dispute, but not to endanger Calais or any of the fortresses. At the end of the year a mixed commission seems to have been appointed by both sides to determine this frontier dispute, but meanwhile Haschenperg had been dispatched, so that an accurate plan should be available, if more fortifications were needed at Cowbridge.

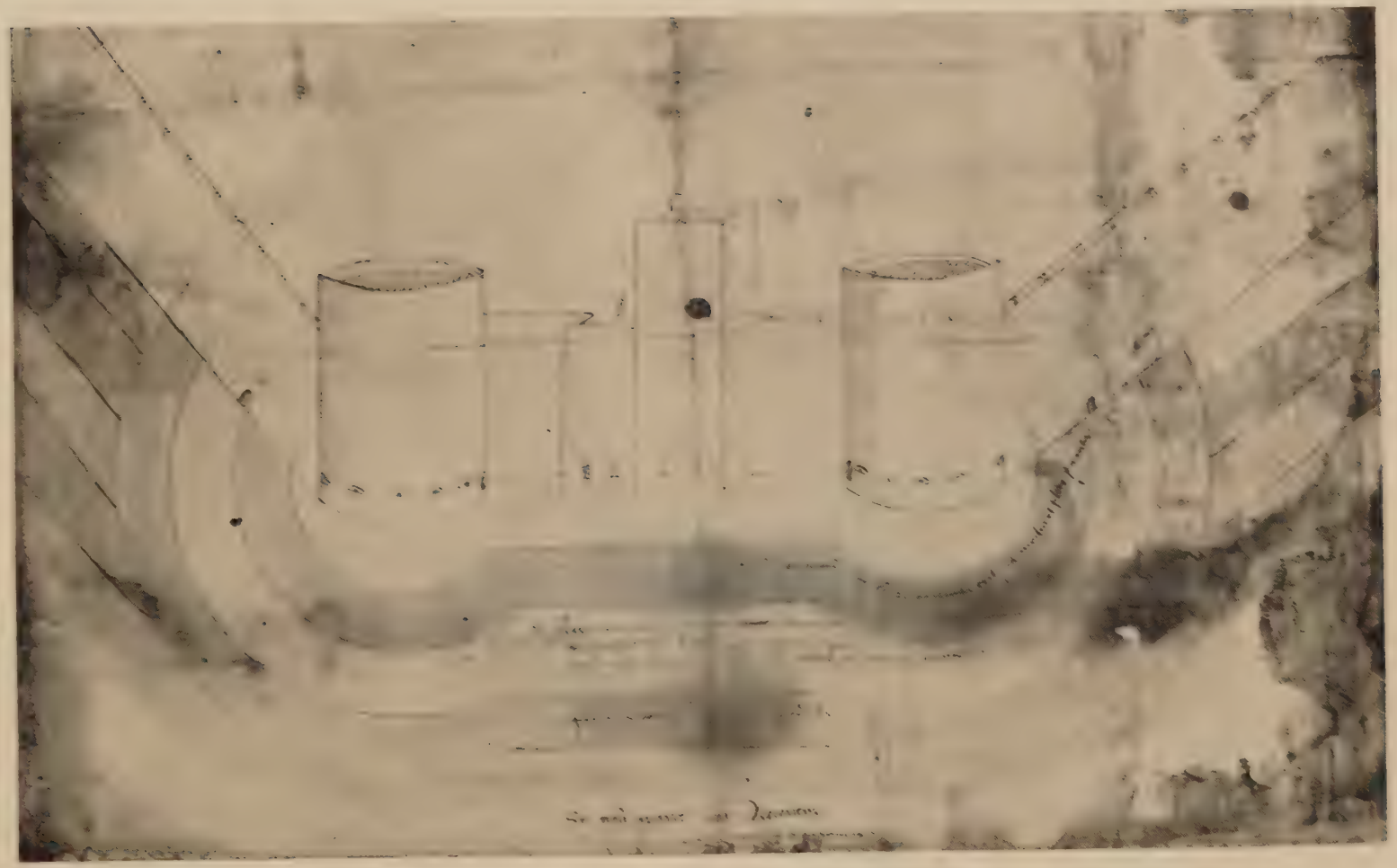
His presence became known to the French almost at once, as is shown by the following letter:[4] Marillac to Francis I. London, 16th November. 'Supposes Francis has heard this King's reply to his proposal, made to the English ambassador, to submit the difference about the bridge [The Cowbridge] between Calais and Ardres to deputies. This King and his ministers, who were at first very indignant, now profess to be greatly pleased at the honorable offers made by Francis, and use most gracious language, saying they wish always to remain good neighbours with us. The work of the ramparts in places where an enemy could land continues, and a German who superintends the fortifications of Calais and Guisnes is sent for, in haste, to design new bulwarks. The duke of Suffolk reckons to leave in three or four days to view the work at Calais. Some say he goes further, but it is not likely, considering his age and health. The King lately came privately to this town, for two days, to see certain war machines and instruments for throwing fire invented by Germans and Italians here. He intends before Easter next to prepare six swift galleys, similar to those at Marseilles, for crossing to Calais

[1] *Ibid.*, 112, no. 263.
[2] *Ibid.*, 114, no. 268.
[3] *The Chronicle of Calais*, Camden Soc., no. 35 (1845), 191–7.
[4] *Lett. and Pap. F. and D.* (1540–1541), xvi, 115, no. 269.



Sandgate Castle, Kent, before 1600: Hatfield House Collection

Archaeologia, Volume 91, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1945



Carlisle, Cumberland: the Citadel, *c.* 1542 (B.M. Cotton Aug. I, i, 60)

and coasting. The English seem to be preparing for war, but rather defensive than offensive.'

The Surveyor mentioned in the letters, already quoted, between the Privy Council and Maltravers was Richard Lee. He was Surveyor of the King's Works at Calais and was perhaps the most eminent English engineer of his time. He was then engaged upon extensive works of fortification at Calais and had recently reported to Cromwell on their progress.[1]

It is most unlikely that Haschenperg was sent to devise fortifications at Calais, as Marillac suggests in his letter; for Lee was undoubtedly the better man in this science, and the Privy Council seems not to have been aware of his absence from Calais at the time. There is certainly no indication in their letters that Haschenperg was intended to do more than make one plan, and he was not to be allowed to see secret fortifications. The conclusion must be from all this evidence that he was employed at Calais purely as a land surveyor, and that it was in 'those things' that he was 'very expert'.

The work was quickly done; for on 29th November Maltravers sent Haschenperg back to England with a letter to the Council saying: 'Concerning Stephen the Almayne (Francis Halle being joined with him) making the "platte" of the Marches, has caused them to "peruse" the country and take special note about Cowbridge, etc.' He added in his own handwriting: 'I found means that Stephen the bearer, with Francis Hawle and Henry Palmer, bailly of Guisnes, was a day in Arde with the captain there. He saw enough to show the King all their fortifications.'[2] Hall refers to this in an account of his 'doings at his late being in Flanders', which is preserved in a transcript by Wriothesley; he says that they 'could not get into Arde till they had the captain's licence'.[3] There is one later reference to the 'platte'; for on the following 30th January (1541) Wriothesley wrote to Norfolk, asking the latter to send to Hampton Court 'with speed the "plat" of Calais and the Marches made by Stephen th' Almain, who is now with you'.[4]

The 'platte' is preserved in the British Museum. It is not signed, but can be identified from the peculiar German method of spelling the place-names, such as Haschenperg may be supposed to have used from oral information locally. It is on paper, and the delineation is so faint that photographic reproduction is unsatisfactory. *The Chronicle of Calais*, (Camden Society, vol. 35), however, includes (between pp. xxviii and xxix) a reduced facsimile, which is a faithful reproduction of the original map. The same publication has dealt in detail with topographical points, and, as Haschenperg was not responsible for

[1] W. Porter, *History of the Corps of Royal Engineers*, i, 23.
[2] *Lett. and Pap. F. and D.* (1540–1541), xvi, 124–5, no. 297.
[3] *Ibid.*, 125–6, no. 298.
[4] *Ibid.*, 237, no. 499.

any of the fortifications there portrayed, consideration of such military matters may be left for a future occasion.

Stefan von Haschenperg was next employed in the north of England. As already stated, he was with Norfolk at the end of January 1541, and on 27th March of that year Chapuys wrote to Charles V that 'Norfolk and the three gentlemen of the King's Chamber who went to the North have been back six days. They have done nothing there, but they leave an engineer to report about the fortifications to be made and where.'[1] A note in the Calendar states that the engineer was Haschenperg.

By the following July he was in charge of the works at Carlisle, since the Privy Council so ordered on the 3rd of that month. 'Order taken that Stephen the Almain should alone have the survey of the works at Carlisle, Thos. Gower meddling only with Berwick, that the bp. of Carlisle should be treasurer of works there, with a clerk under him at 8*d.* a day, and Sir Thos. Wharton and Edw. Eglenby comptrollers, and that the Bishop, Wharton, and Eglenby should investigate the complaint of Stephen the Almain against Sir Thos. Wentworth, captain of Carlisle, for ill-using the workmen.' A letter was thereupon sent to the Bishop, Wharton, and Eglenby, and another to Wentworth to 'use himself more temperately'.[2] The letters to the Bishop, Wharton, and Eglenby ran as follows: 'Appointed certain fortifications to be made upon the Borders by his servants Thomas Gower and Stephen the Almain. The said Stephen has now declared certain articles concerning the said works, and has exhibited a complaint against Sir Thomas Wentworth, captain of Carlisle. By reason of contentions practised against the said Stephen, the works have not gone so well forward as they might have done. Commissions them to inquire into the said complaint. From henceforth the said Stephen is to have the setting forth of all the works at Carlisle, and Gower has been written to to meddle no longer therein. As the bishop of Carlisle is appointed treasurer of the works, the King will allow him a clerk at 8*d.* a day. Wharton and Eglenby are to be comptrollers; and one of them must be present, with the Bishop's clerk, at every pay.'[3]

Haschenperg received, at least at first, 4*s.* a day; for the receipts from 4th June to 27th August 1541 are preserved,[4] signed by him with a mark. He seems to have remained at Carlisle in charge of the works for about two years, but none of the detailed accounts have been preserved either at the British Museum or at the Public Record Office. Mr. A. J. Taylor, F.S.A., who most kindly searched these repositories for the present writer, suggests that, as the bishop of Carlisle acted as treasurer for the works on behalf of the king, the

[1] *Ibid.*, 319, no. 662.
[2] *Ibid.*, 467, no. 958.
[3] *Ibid.*, 467–8, no. 959.
[4] *Ibid.*, 528, no. 1118.

accounts may be preserved in the cathedral library at Carlisle. A search therein has not yet been possible.

On 19th November 1541 Haschenperg signed a receipt for £30 received from the bishop for necessaries for the works, but particular items are not specified.[1] During that same year the bishop acknowledged receipt of three separate amounts of £1,000 to be spent upon the king's works, 'within his Citie and Castle of Carlisle' 29th May,[2] 'at Carlisle' 17th July,[3] and 'to be employede and bestowyde for and abowght the Citee Castle and Cytydele of Carlisle, and for the contentacion of suche woorkemen as shalbe contynnyde theire this wynter . . .' 27th October.[4]

Work must have continued throughout 1542, although there are only two brief references to it during the year. By 6th March munitions and artillery had been delivered by Sir Thos. Wentworth.[5] On 1st December Sir Thomas Wharton and the bishop of Carlisle were ordered to view the proceedings of Mr. Stevins in the king's works at Carlisle, and a letter to Haschenperg ordered him to repair to court with plans for next year's work.[6] There is already a suspicion that all is not well in the conduct of affairs at Carlisle, and the works are to be examined in Haschenperg's absence.

On 17th July of the following year the explanation was forthcoming: 'Stephen Almain having long had charge of certain buildings and fortifications, appeared to have behaved lewdly and spent great treasure to no purpose; and as he had before offered to recompense the king if he did "anything otherwise than reason would" he was ordered to bring sureties for his performance of that promise.'[7] As there is an extant account of expenses from 26th May to 17th November 1543 at Carlisle Castle which amounts to £20. 9*s*. 1*d*.,[8] precisely the total mentioned as having been expended under the oversight of Wm. Garfurth since the departure of Haschenperg,[9] the latter must have been suspended in May 1543. Certainly in August 1545 he complained that he had received no money 'these two years'.[10] On 17th November William Garforth was appointed clerk of the ordnance, the works and store there, and the same letter, which orders this, proceeds: 'As to the finishing and amending of such things as you write to be needful concerning the works, his Majesty mindeth, after the perfection of the works at Hull, that John Rogers shall repair as well to Carlisle as to Wark, upon whose certificate his Highness will determine his pleasure for the finishing of all things needful as shall appertain.'[11]

[1] *Ibid.*, 628, no. 1360. [2] *Ibid.*, 412, no. 869. [3] *Ibid.*, 482, no. 1009.
[4] *Ibid.*, 598, no. 1295. [5] *Ibid.* (1542), XVII, 70, no. 150. [6] *Ibid.*, 643, no. 1155.
[7] *Ibid.* (1543), XVIII, i, 492–3, no. 901. [8] *B.M. Add. MS.* 5754, fols. 95, 96.
[9] *Ibid.*, fol. 93 and *Lett. and Pap. F. and D.* (1543), XVIII, ii, 213, no. 395.
[10] *Lett. and Pap. F. and D.* (1545), XX, ii, 15–16, no. 37.
[11] Reference as for note 9, but full transcript in modern style.

There are in the British Museum three drawings of fortifications at Carlisle, which bear Stefan von Haschenperg's signature.[1] None of them names any actual buildings, which figure in the scanty accounts during his time at Carlisle as yet located, so that, save in one case, one cannot be sure that the drawings delineate buildings or works, of which he was the designer. The exception is the inner ditch at the Citadel, which is described as already more than half completed. The gunports of this drawing are of the same type as those in the drawing of Sandgate Castle, but there is no reason to suppose that they are any more truthful as representations in detail at Carlisle than at Sandgate, and they cannot be taken as evidence of style. Similarly the delineation of the two bulwarks below the Castle in plate XIII, although probably representing works carried out in Haschenperg's time, leaves much to be desired as a piece of detailed drawing. The Half-Moon Battery, which still remains and is described below (pp. 154–5), appears at the top of this drawing, but it is certainly not a main feature there and its details are clearly only approximately correct. Little help can, therefore, be derived from the drawings towards assessing Haschenperg's merit.

The discussion of the topographical and other details of these drawings must wait until the writer has an opportunity of visiting Carlisle after the war. Meanwhile it may be of interest to reproduce them by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, and to give a transcript of the manuscript notes, etc., which has been very kindly prepared by Mr. A. J. Taylor, F.S.A.

Pl. XI shows the Citadel at the southern end of the town. The first line, written in the inner ditch, reads:

Fossa .40. pedium lata et .20. profunda erit, iam medium et plus parata

The second, third, and fourth lines on the vallum between ditches have:

Agger .50. pedium latus et ~~tante~~ altitudinis
ut propugnacula Turrium erga regionem cooperit,
neque causa illius fossa exterior potest ab inimicis adimplere

The fifth line, in the outer ditch, reads:

Fossa exterior [.? 30] *lata .10. profunda*

Below this there is:

Sic visu aparet erga Regionem and
per me Stephanum de Hashenperg. ic. with Haschenperg's signature.

Pl. XII, a view of the north-eastern curtain of the inner bailey of the castle, has on the wall leading to the left-hand bulwark *140 pedes*, and on the corresponding wall leading to the right-hand bulwark *120 pedes longum & grossum*

[1] Two of them, it will be noticed, have *ic* after the signature. A similar abbreviation occurs in the Sandgate Castle accounts and no doubt stands for *iconomus* (*Arch. Cant.*, XX, 247). The B.M. Catalogue describes one of them (Aug. I, ii, 16) as of Berwick, but this is certainly an error for Carlisle.

et duodecim altum. The digits on a buttress, etc., are from top to bottom, left to right, *8, 8, 6, 10, 12, 10, 4, 14, 17, 3, 4, 20, 106, 40, 8, 4, 4, 4, 4,* and on the right-hand bulwark *19, 24.* Other measurements are doubtful.

Pl. XIII is a mutilated plan of the castle and town. Apart from *Occidentalis* etc., the western part of the plan contains within the town *Curia exterior, fossa, ramper, Kalde Gat, abbe, Market pla[ce], blak fryers,* and the eastern part *Orientalis,* etc., with *Nye hal, ramp, [kechy]n, Arrea domus, Rykard Gat, Platea, Gre fryers,* and *Sprygal Toure.* Outside the town left is *flumen Calde,* right *flumen Edn,* below *Aqua(?) Peteral qui incidit in Edn* with *per [me Stephan]um de Haschenperg ic* and Haschenperg's signature.

In the bottom right-hand corner are the following sentences, which have been mutilated on account of the former ill-treatment of the plan:

Hec due partes muri Civilis, qui inter Arcem [et]
Arcem includunt totum oppidum, continent [inter se]
(o Arce)
quinque millia pedes Geometricos, excep[tis turribus]
(portis)
qui suam habent mensuram. Sed emi (?) [
Utriusque non per mensuram solummodo ap]
parentem, partemque Regionis
Causa fluminum demonstr[andi]
Cita pen[
Careo tempus alias melius et [plenius quam hic]
fecissem sed habeo pre ma,
quam Geometraliter describ[Un[
Regionibus circa iacentibus A(?)
Cosmographica Deo dante

For a full year there is no mention of Haschenperg in the State documents, nor does there seem to be any account of proceedings against him. In July 1544 a Messuage, two mills called St. Thomas Mills, a lock and certain grounds in Westham, Essex, formerly held by him, were granted to Gerard Harmond, the king's servant.[1]

His later history until he disappears entirely from the English scene can best be illustrated by a series of transcripts from the Calendars:

Mary of Hungary to Henry VIII

Stephen van Hassenpergk, a gentleman of Moravia, to whom Henry, with his accustomed liberality, has given something in his realm, fears to be hindered in the enjoyment and receipt of it, and asks her to write in his favour; which (both for his virtues and because he is her subject as dowager of the kingdom of Bohemia) she can-

[1] *Lett. and Pap. F. and D.* (1544), XIX, i, 638, no. 1035 (158).

not refuse, and therefore begs Henry to give orders to his officers and subjects therein. (Antwerp, 16 Aug. 1544.)[1]

Carne to Henry VIII

The 20th inst. came to me Stephen van Hassynberk, your Majesty's servant 'as he saith', saying that he had a matter touching you wherein he desired advice, viz. that certain Scots were in the East country about Denmark seeking men to serve in Scotland against you, and the king of Denmark had now dismissed many men who were ready to serve anywhere, and you might have them, for he (Stephen) was able to gain the man in best credit among them. There were two Scots who were offering large money, and to make the man a lord in Scotland who would help to convey their intended provision of men thither. Told him to inquire who the Scots were and to whom in Scotland they belonged, how many men they wished (who were reported to have said that they had money enough for 20,000) and where in Scotland they would land; and asked the man's name whom he could bring to Henry's service. He answered that he had this knowledge through 'another who would not be known'. Offered, when he had tried out these things, to write in his favour to Henry; and advised him to go himself to Henry or the Council. Next day, the 21st, he returned, saying that one of the Scots was a priest who offered much for help to convey certain things out of France to Scotland; also he said that he himself, being lately in Denmark, learnt that certain ambassadors of Scotland, then there, made suit to have the King of Denmark's brother to be king in Scotland on condition that the King of Denmark would take their part, but he could not learn what answer they had. He would find means to know a man who came to an uncle of a servant of Henry's called Hans, 'a multier or a caster of leades withowt belows, after the facion of Almayn', who is about Hull, and advised him to write to his nephew to come away with what he has, 'for it will not be long but there will be somewhat to do'. Stephen has undertaken to learn more about the Scottish priest and, if possible, to get a letter from the uncle to Hans in England, or else to learn who it is that wished him out of England; and then to come to Bruxelles for Carne's letter in his favor. He added that, if sent to lie in Libik, he would try out all things moved in the East Landes against Henry. Although Hassynberk's report is 'very confuse', Carne has thought good to notify it. (Bruxelles, 23 Aug. 1544.)[2]

At Andwarp, Stephen van Hassynberke, calling himself the King's servant, asked advice concerning matters of the East land and Scotland, as appears by the letters to the King herewith. Could not get at the truth more clearly. Hears that Stephen 'is called a man that will pretend more knowledge than he hath indeed; he is better known there, as it is showed me, than I do know him'. (Bruxelles, 23 Aug. 1544, in haste.)[3]

Carne to Paget

I never thought less of Stephen van Hassynberke 'than your mastership advertiseth me'; nevertheless, after I wrote by Nicolas the courier, the said Stephen came, saying that he had tried out the matter and would ride to the King with the man with whom

[1] *Ibid.*, XIX, ii, 37, no. 94. [2] *Ibid.*, 58, no. 131. [3] *Ibid.*, 58, no. 132.

the Scots practise, who is a gentleman of reputation in Lubeke, 'but he will in no wise he should be known there amongst the Almains'. I advised Stephen to bring him to Calays and thence convey him privily to the King, and gave him a letter to the King; and he said 'he would thither straight'. (28 Aug. 1544.)[1]

Stephanus de Haschenpergk to Henry VIII

Laments at great length his loss, through the machinations of enemies, of the King's favour and his fruitless efforts, first by his own letters and then through Queen Mary, Regent of Flanders, to recover it. If he offended it was in ignorance; and at his going away all his property was taken from him, and the treasurer refused to pay his pension, nor has paid it these two years. Finding John Dimok at Lubeck on a mission to the senate, has asked his intercession. Is sure that he can be of service to Henry and his people and will wait about Lubeck or Hamburg for an answer. (Lubeck, Tuesday 'post Petri ad Vincula', 1545.)

2. 'Sequuntur quedam commoditates pro regno Anglie quas ego Stephanus de Hassenpergk, etc., in gratiam Regis et subditorum utilitatem statui communicare ubi in gratiam fuero reversus.'

1. Has invented a way of melting tin and lead ore with stone coal instead of charcoal. 2. Also a way of making Roman vitriol (which is necessary for blackening cloth, etc.) within the realm. 3. Also a way of making saltpetre, otherwise called black vitriol, in one place without going about the realm searching for it. 4. The fourth concerns a private art which he thinks that neither Vitruvius, Archimedes nor Ctesibius discovered 'in aqua stante', viz., 'quod duobus, tribus, aut quatuor equis, tanta aquarum multitudo ministrari possit in aqua stante que sufficiat xxiiij. generibus molendinarum circumagendis'. In Nonsuch, where an aqueduct was begun but not carried to effect, he could make the service of water correspond to the nomenclature of the house.

Various other useful conveniences I intended to put up in the house which I bought and then to show them to others, but envy drove me away 'Omnia hec invidiam movent illis qui de aliena foelicitate tristantur, contra quos potentis tuitio necessaria. Stephanus de Haschenpergk'. P.S.—Has no news to write except that Dominus Lasko, of Emden, has sent him a picture showing the two sides of a coin which he has seen and which he thinks should be copied in a new coin and sent to the Evangelical princes. Describes the designs and their significance as explained to him by the engraver himself. Also sends the picture of a mill invented this year. The inventor has had this printed to be shown to princes; and the writer understands its construction, but his fourth convenience mentioned above is far more excellent. S. D. Hass'p'gk.

3. A woodcut representing the two sides of a coin, the one showing the Imperial eagle suppressing with two swords a prostrate figure marked 'Infidelitas', the other depicting the instrument of punishment called the stocks, under the date 1544, the pillars at the two ends being surmounted respectively with an Imperial and a Royal crown. The inscriptions are 'Ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus' and 'Ad alligandos reges eorum in compedibus'.

[1] *Ibid.*, 64, no. 150.

ii. A woodcut representing a combined wind and horsemill entitled in an ornamental scroll 'Eine wunderliche roswintmulle', with some verses in German, beneath, describing the mill, as invented at Emden in East Friesland in the year 1545, by Do. Gewest.[1]

Van der Delft to Mary of Hungary

. . . Some time ago, received her letter ordering him to speak in favour of a gentleman of Moravia named Stephen d'Assenberg. Before the writer's first coming hither D'Assenberg had fallen into disgrace with the King and Council, who say that he injured them to the extent of several thousand pounds. After absenting himself for a time he returned in the hope that the late Duke of Suffolk would befriend him, and the writer found him here in the midst of his suit. This proving fruitless, he went to Oestlandt and has not been heard of for two years. As the King and Council are offended with him, the writer waits further instructions. (London, 9 Jan. 1547.)[2]

From these documents it seems that the charge against Haschenperg was that 'he injured' the king and council 'to the extent of several thousand pounds'. He claimed that, if he had done anything wrong, it was in ignorance, but he nevertheless absented himself for about two years. His property was taken from him, or at least he received no profit from it, and no doubt the revenue was offset against his alleged delinquency; for the land, etc., at Westham was not granted to another for almost exactly one year after the presumed date of Haschenperg's suspension.

There followed a series of efforts to regain favour by means of regal influence as well as the promise of valuable inventions for English use, but all were in vain. Even a visit to England after about two years' absence was of no avail. It is possible that this is the visit, which is contemplated in Carne's letter to Paget of 28th August 1544, and that it was undertaken ostensibly on another pretext, although really Haschenperg hoped thereby to regain his former position.

Perhaps the most revealing sentence in all these letters is that which occurs in Carne's note at the end of his letter to the king, dated 23rd August 1544: 'Hears that Stephen is called a man that will pretend more knowledge than he hath indeed; he is better known there, as it is showed me, than I do know him'. 'There' was presumably Antwerp.

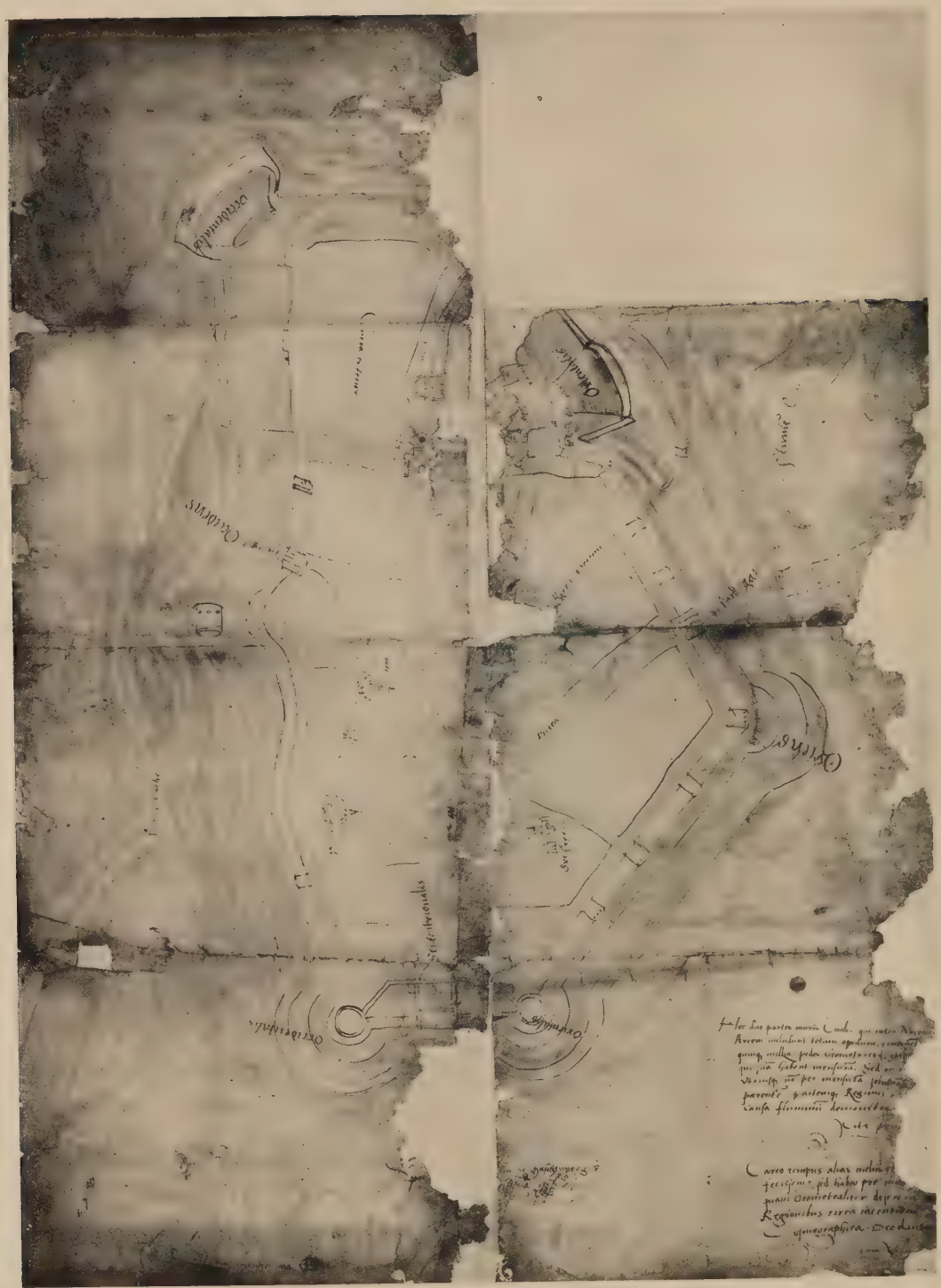
It will be remembered that the conclusion arrived at from his work at Calais is that Haschenperg was very expert in land surveying, and there is no hint that he was to have any hand even in the siting of the fortifications of that vital stronghold; indeed, as an alien, he was to see as little of them as possible. Yet in England he was called the 'devisor' of Sandgate Castle, and, when he went to Carlisle, it was as an engineer. In both places he was clearly in direct

[1] *Ibid.* (1545), xx, ii, 15–16, no. 37.

[2] *Ibid.* (1546), xxi, ii, 357, no. 679.

Carlisle Castle, Cumberland: north-eastern curtain, *c.* 1542 (B.M. Cotton. Aug. I, ii, 16)

Archaeologia, Volume 91, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1945



Carlisle, Cumberland: the castle and town, *c.* 1542 (B.M. Cotton. Aug. I. Suppl. 8 and 9)

charge of constructional work, and there can be no doubt that he actually designed certain of the fortifications.

It is known that those few years, *c.* 1540, saw an unparalleled spate of building of coastal fortifications in England, and that English engineers, although good, were too few to cope with the rush of work. Thus the employment of foreign craftsmen of various kinds became essential, in order to complete the programme, and it may well be that Haschenperg, who was really a land surveyor and nothing else, was given at his own suggestion certain other work, for which he was not qualified. His shortcomings cannot have been apparent at Sandgate, in spite of the evidence adduced below, but sometime during the work at Carlisle his bluff must have been called. Then in typical manner he was suspended on a charge of financial irregularity, although the king might perhaps truthfully argue that bad workmanship was tantamount to defrauding the Exchequer. Some confirmation of this suggestion is supplied by the scanty evidence of Haschenperg's probable later life in Moravia, as kindly supplied to the writer in 1937 by the Director of Austrian War Archives. A Stephen von Haschenperg appears as farm-master (*Hofmeister*) to Marcus Kuen, who was bishop of Olmutz from 1553 to 1565, but there seems to be no indication that he was employed as an engineer of military or other works.[1] It now remains only to examine the certain and probable examples of Haschenperg's work in this country, in order to learn whether or not they support the suspicions aroused by the documentary evidence.

It is unfortunate that little undoubted work by Haschenperg remains for study at the present time. At Sandgate all the building except the gatehouse was so altered during the Napoleonic wars, that no single feature of use for the present purpose exists now in any other part of the structure. At Carlisle none of the work delineated in the drawings signed by Haschenperg, and so likely to have been built by him, still remains in its original state except the Half-Moon battery. This is not prominently shown on his drawings, nor is it certainly mentioned in the accounts during his time at Carlisle, but it may well be part of his fortification. It is, therefore, proposed to describe his undoubted work at Sandgate and probable work at Carlisle, and to compare it with contemporary design elsewhere in Britain.

The gatehouse of Sandgate Castle (pl. XIV *a* and *b*) has five embrasures or gunports, three on the ground floor and two on the first floor (pl. XIV *c* and *d*). From the height of their sills above floor level, 3 ft. 4 in. on the ground floor and 4 ft. 6 in. on the first floor, it is probable that the former were for cannon and

[1] Josef Pilnáček, *Staromoravišti rodové*, (Altmährische Geschlechter, Wein, 1930), Seite 196. The name is, however, by no means uncommon in the district, and the identification cannot, therefore, be made with certainty.

the latter for hand-guns, but there is no difference in type between the two sets, and those for hand-guns are only slightly the smaller in size. The only other significant dimensions which cannot be gauged from the plans (figs. 1 and 2) are the height of the openings at the narrowest part of the gunports. In the lower floor it is 26 in., and in the upper it is 24 in. It is true that these gunports have a considerable external splay, which would permit of a far wider transverse

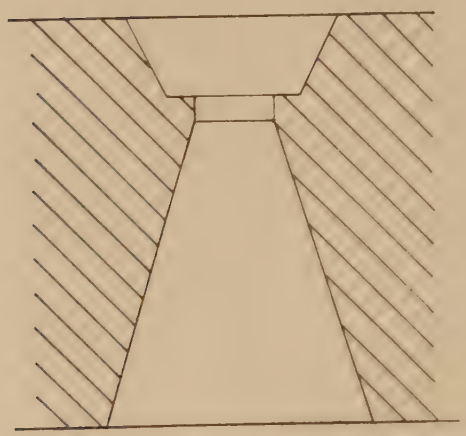


Fig. 1. Sandgate Castle, Kent: Plan of gunport on first floor of Gatehouse ($\frac{1}{20}$)

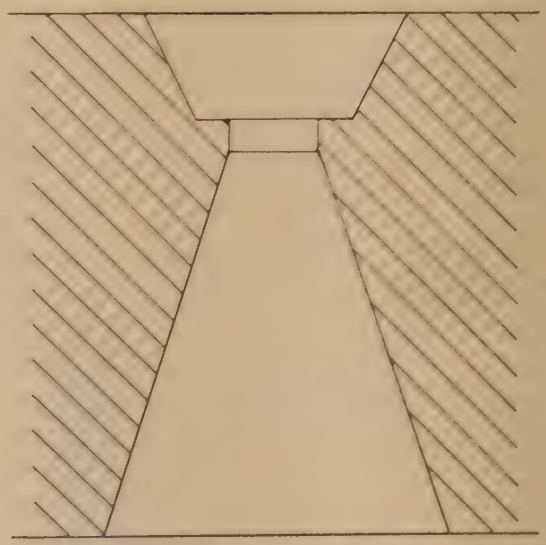


Fig. 2. Sandgate Castle, Kent: Plan of gunport on ground floor of Gatehouse ($\frac{1}{20}$)

than the more primitive gunports at Dartmouth Castle (1481)[1] or even those of Bearscore Castle, Dartmouth (1510).[2] Nevertheless they are not as developed as those of some of the exactly contemporary buildings elsewhere on the south coast of Britain. A comparison of the photographs of the Sandgate gunports with those of Portland or Walmer (pl. xv *c*, *d*, also fig. 3) shows this more clearly than can be described in words. The conclusion seems justified that the works at Sandgate were by no means the best which were possible in 1539.

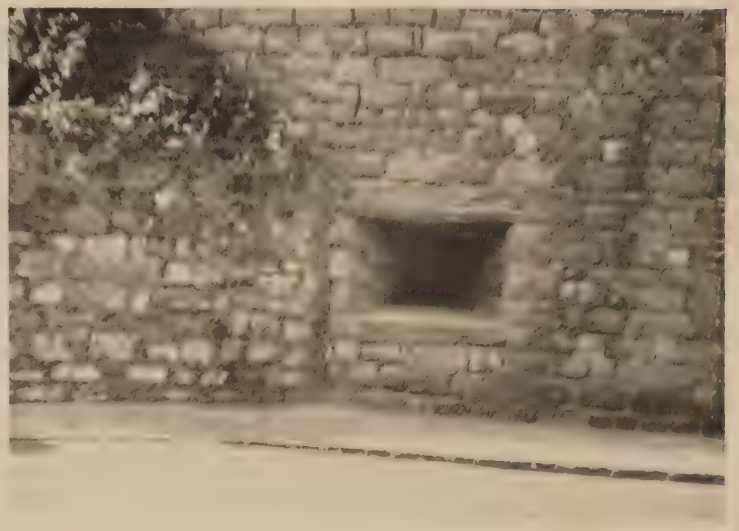
The Half-Moon battery at Carlisle Castle (pl. xv *a*, *b*, and fig. 4) covers the gate leading into the inner ward. It no longer has its upper courses and its embrasures for guns in the parapet. It is built down into the moat, as suggested by some early writers on fortification, e.g. Machiavelli,[3] in order to rake with fire any attackers who sought to cross it. Within the battery at approximately the level of the bottom of the moat a curved passage runs in the thickness of the wall. Off this there are ten openings, which from the height of their sills

[1] *Archaeologia*, lxxxv, 138. [2] *Ibid.*, 142.
[3] *The Arte of Warre*, Tudor Translations (1905), 206.

a. Sandgate Castle, Kent: Gatehouse from the west

b. Sandgate Castle, Kent: Gatehouse from the east

c. Sandgate Castle, Kent: Gunport at north-west side of Gatehouse



d. Sandgate Castle, Kent: Gunport at north-east side of Gatehouse

a. Carlisle Castle, Cumberland: Half-moon battery from the south

b. Carlisle Castle, Cumberland: Half moon battery from the north

c. Portland Castle, Dorset: Gunports to seaward

d. Walmer Castle, Kent: Gunports in the north-western bastion

above the level of the passage must have been for hand-guns, and one larger gunport for a cannon, which must be of later date. The ten hand-gun openings externally resemble the gunports at Sandgate, but, as the plan shows, they are

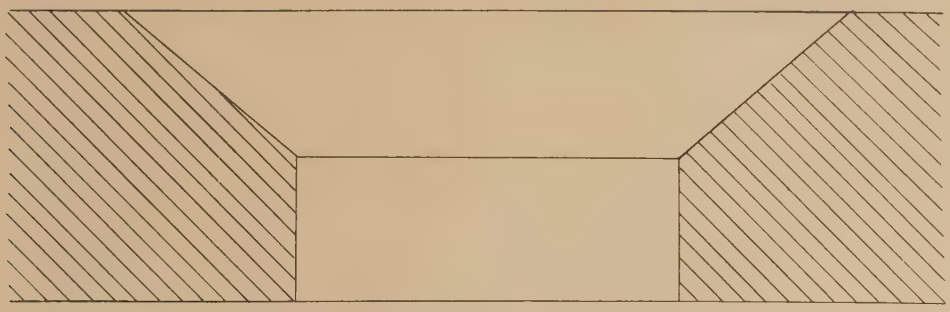


Fig. 3. Walmer Castle, Kent: Plan of gunport ($\frac{1}{20}$)

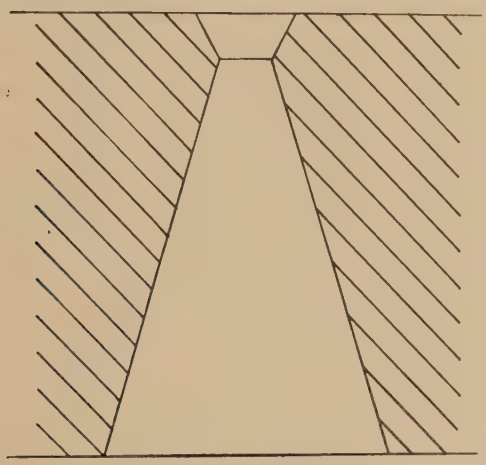


Fig. 4. Carlisle Castle: Plan of gunport in Half-Moon Battery ($\frac{1}{20}$)

even narrower, although they are similarly splayed, i.e. almost entirely externally.

Thus it is seen that the very scanty remains of Haschenperg's actual or supposed work confirm the conclusion adduced from the written documents, that he, a land surveyor, was set to work in a branch of science (engineering), in which he was not especially skilled. His work, if set beside that which was being done at the same time elsewhere in the country, shows at once that he was considerably behind other craftsmen in the design of fortifications. It is, therefore, not surprising that the king dispensed with his services as soon as this failing was made manifest and as soon as the most urgent works of defence had been completed.

IV.—*Worcester House in the Strand*

By Sidney J. Madge, *Esq., D.Sc., F.S.A.*

Read 27th January 1938

Worcester House in the Strand, the most famous of all the houses so named, was situated in what the Ordnance Surveyors of 1871 called 'St. Clement Danes Parish, Detached Area No. 2', where now stands the Savoy Theatre (pl. xvii *c*). The other mansions of that name associated with the Earldom of Worcester[1] were in the City or neighbourhood of London –in Bishopsgate Street, Anchor Street (at the foot of Garlick Hill) in Vintry Ward, Clerkenwell, Tower Street, Stepney, and Southwark, Acton, Ewell Park, and Enfield.

The Strand mansion had several changes of name, being known as Carlisle Inn or Carlisle Place before the Reformation, and Russell House, Bedford House, Herbert or Worcester House, Beaufort House and Buildings, in the Tudor period and after. Like the Vintry dwelling it had its tragic memories, its gardens, terraces and stairway to the Thames, its later 'many tenementes' and ultimate destruction by fire. The building lay between the Savoy on the east and Durham House on the West. Its appearance may be conjectured from Pyne's reconstruction of the Medieval Strand, shown in the frontispiece to Knight's *London*, and the photographs of models in Mr. Godfrey's paper on Strand houses in the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 1922. It is shown with varying clearness in Wyngaerde's view, *c.* 1550, the maps of Agas and Norden, 1570–1593, and the drawings by Visscher and Hollar[2] in 1616 and 1650 (pls. xvii and xviii). Another view of 1658 will be found in Dirck's *The Second Marquis of Worcester*. Several of the earl's pictures are known, but we can learn more about the building and its contents from the inventory and survey made by Commonwealth officials between 1643 and 1650.

(i) Carlisle Inn, 1238–1538

The history of the Strand mansion falls into three parts, the first of which concerns the church, for until the Reformation this was the London home of the bishops of Carlisle who dwelt here, as did other bishops in the neighbouring

[1] G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, 1898, viii, 198-203, the earldom passing through the families of Waleran de Beaumont 1136–1145, Percy 1397-1403, Beauchamp 1420–1422, Tiptoft 1449-1485, Somerset from 1514. The marquisate was conferred in 1643 and the dukedom of Beaufort in 1682.

[2] S. J. Madge, *The Domesday of Crown Lands*, 1938, pl. 10.

Inns of Bath[1] and Durham, from the reign of Henry III. It is mentioned in 1238 in connexion with a penitential procession which went to Durham House in order that the interdict of the Papal Legate upon Oxford might be removed. As Fuller[2] says of the journey from St. Paul's:

> When they came to the bishop of Carlisle's (now Worcester) House the scholars went the rest of the way barefoot, *sine capis et mantellis* . . . and thus the great legate at last was really reconciled unto them.

More than four centuries later the mayor and burgesses of Oxford were able to persuade the king, at Worcester House on 27th April 1661, to remove the civic oath imposed upon their city in consequence of the great riot of St. Scholastica's Day on 10th February 1355.

In Carlisle Inn[3] resided the King's Treasurer, Bishop Walter Mauclerk, in 1238. John Kirkby was here in 1338 and held many of his ordinations in London. Thomas de Appleby, whose sermon at Paul's Cross was interrupted by a riot between the Goldsmiths and Pepperers on Sunday, 7th March 1378, was in residence between 1363 and 1396. Among other episcopal owners may be mentioned Thomas Merks, executor of Richard II's will, who when charged with treason was deprived of his bishopric 10th January 1400; Roger Whelpdale who died here 4th February 1422; and Edward Story, 1468–1480, who continued to reside in 'the Bysshop of Carlelles place apud le Stronde' even when translated to Chichester in 1477. Although the learned 'G.E.C.' was surprised to find in a will of 1584 that the house was in St. Clement's parish, the escheator of 1509 records 'de possessionibus in parochia Sancti Clementis in comitatu Midd. quas Rogerus Layburne nuper Karliolen' in the inquisition taken on the death of that prelate. In Whelpdale's will made a fortnight before his death, arrangements were made for his burial in the porch of St. Paul's. The wills of Roger Layburn, John Kyte, and Robert Aldrich, pre-Reformation bishops of Carlisle Inn in the sixteenth century, are still preserved at Somerset House.[4]

Changes had already taken place in the frontages of Carlisle Inn between the Savoy and Ivy Bridge, as we see from indentures of 1402 and 1403 recited in an inspeximus and confirmation of a grant to John, Julien and William Boteler of London, dated 18th January 1404, by the prior and convent of St. Mary's, Carlisle. In both indentures Bishop Strickland granted plots to the Boteler family, at varying rents for the term of 40 years, for the erection of buildings known ever after as 'Chichester Rents'.[5] In the first grant the ground was stated to be 92 ft. in width, extending from the manor of Savoy to

[1] *Archaeologia*, lxxii, 'Arundel House', 244, 247–8.
[2] *Church Hist. of Britain*, 1845, ii, 174–5.
[3] S. Jefferson, *History of Carlisle*, 1838.
[4] P.C.C. Wills, 1383–1558, pt. 1.
[5] Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1401–1405, 344–5.

the new stable and 'le yhethous' of the bishop towards the (Strand) highway on the north and 4 ft. beyond the corner of the stable on the south. In the second document the plot measured 38 ft. by 8 ft. (except for an entrance near the stable 6 ft. wide), lying between 'le yhetehous' and new stable on the north and 'la lane' on the west opposite Durham House, then running south through the bishop's garden to 'the stone wall which shuts out the Thames'. The rents specified were a rose at Midsummer for 7 years in the first case and 10 years in the second, with money payments annually of 13*s.* 4*d.* and 6*s.* 8*d.* for 33 and 30 years respectively. The bishop stipulated that Boteler should erect by Whitsuntide, 14th May 1402 (first indenture), or Easter, 15th April 1403 (second indenture), at his own expense: (1) shops along the Strand frontage, on ground at least 15 ft. wide, with solars of oak timber covered with tiles; (2) buildings along the whole of the stable frontage and 'la lane' (Ivy Lane), extending back 16 ft. at least from the highway, with an entrance door, solars and cellars, oak timber and a covering of tiles; (3) a stew for fish in the garden of Carlisle Place and a latrine along the stone wall; (4) a 'mud-wall' of sufficient height to enclose the two plots and separate them from the bishop's garden on the south and west and the lane on the west as well. Permission was given to build additional houses at pleasure, and to use any of the old timber from 'the old house there called "le yhethous" with the stables annexed'. Within 'Chichester Rents' thus formed in 1402–1404 Thomas, 2nd Lord Dacre, built a house early in the reign of Henry VIII, and here William, 3rd Lord Dacre, to whom Bishop Kyte granted a lease in 1527, was living on 2nd March 1534.[1]

Carlisle Place was associated with the king's divorce, Anne Boleyn's coronation, and Cardinal Wolsey's downfall, in the episcopacy of Bishop Kyte. Both the cardinal and the bishop, who had signed the petition to Pope Clement, went together daily in the barge from Carlisle Stairs to the trial staged at Bridewell. Cavendish in his *Life of Wolsey*[2] speaks of their friendship and of Kyte's aid to Wolsey in the latter's hour of need. Four letters of John Kyte and Sir John Kyngston to Lord Lisle,[3] 17th December 1533 to April 1535, show that the bishop was at Carlisle Place during his illness, and that he was buried in the chancel of Stepney church about 19th June 1537. He is mentioned in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 in an entry relating to this property which reads as follows:

Idem ep'us (Joh'es Kyte) habet div'sas terr' et redd' in com' Myddelsex ext'a Temple Barre London' vocat' Karlelle Rent que valet p'annu' . . . xvj^{li} iiij^{s} o^{d}.

From this it appears that six per cent. of the Bishop's temporalities were associated with Carlisle Rents in the Strand before the Reformation.[4]

[1] Henry VIII L. & P., vii, 117, 'Carlisle Rent'.
[2] Edit., Morley, 1890, 124.
[3] Henry VIII L. & P., vi, 620; vii, 17, 117, 547; viii, 188.
[4] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1825, v, 273.

(ii) Bedford House, 1538–1638

After the death of Bishop Kyte the scramble for the Strand palaces and minor houses of the religious began among the Court-favoured or commercially-minded laymen,[1] and in the process Bath Inn was transferred to the Lord High Admiral and re-named Arundel House, while Carlisle Inn or Place, in which Bishop Aldrich had only recently been installed, came into the possession of the Comptroller of the Household and took the name of Russell House. In this latter instance the transaction became triangular, a bill having been introduced into the Lords for this purpose, 18th June 1539, and when the king gave his assent a week later, 'Carlisle Place without Temple Bar' passed to John Russell, afterwards earl of Bedford (1485–1554), by the payment of £16 per annum to Bishop Aldrich; the bishop of Carlisle moved to Rochester House in Lambeth Marsh and re-named it Carlisle House; and the bishop of Rochester in turn gained possession of Russell House in Chiswick.[2] It was from this house in the Strand that John Russell, accompanied by William, 3rd Earl of Worcester, set out on his journey to Sion House, 16th June 1553, to offer the Crown to Lady Jane Grey; and here in 'his house near Ivy Bridge' the first earl of Bedford died on 14th March 1555, being carried thence to Chenies, Bucks., for burial six days later.[3]

The change of name from Russell House to Bedford House, before the new building of that name was erected near Covent Garden, was made by Francis the 2nd earl (1527–1585) after his second marriage, namely to Bridget, widow of Henry, earl of Rutland. Here he entertained a French embassy on 25th October 1561, and there is an entry in Machyn's *Diary*[4] under 20th February 1563 of a funeral —'one master Sant John'—as well. From the Strand mansion the earl set out for Edinburgh, carrying the queen's gift of a golden font,[5] to attend the baptism on 15th December 1566 of her godson, Prince James, the future king of England. Many letters[6] have been preserved which show that the earl called the place 'Russell House' up to 1580, and 'Bedford House' afterwards. It was here he died of gangrene on 28th July 1585. Subsequent letters show that the Dowager Lady Russell and her twin granddaughters Elizabeth and Anne, the Countess Bridget, George, earl of Cumber-

[1] S. Liljegren, *Fall of the Monasteries*, Lund, 1924.

[2] *Lords Jour.*, i, 121–3, 187 8, 191, 198; Henry VIII L.P., xiv, pt. i, 403; Pennant, *London*, 1793, 149.

[3] J. Wiffen, *House of Russell*, 1833, i, pl. vii; G. Thomson, *Two Centuries of Family History*, 1930, 194, 202.

[4] Camden Soc., xlii, 1848, 83, 270, 301.

[5] College of Arms MSS, quoted in *Notes & Queries*, 2nd Ser., vi, 126.

[6] Hist. MSS. Com.: Buckingham, i, 224; Hothfield, 11th Rept., vi, 82–7; Lowndes, 7th Rept., 540; Montagu of Beaulieu, 12; Rutland, i, 150; also Cal. S.P. Dom., 1566 1625, and 1598–1601.

land (who married Margaret Russell), Lady Anne Clifford, and Sir John Puckering, resided here before 21st June 1593, in which year Norden wrote:

Russell House, near Ivye bridge, scytuate upon the Thamise now in the use of the right honourable Sir John Puckering, Knight, Lord Keeper of the Prevye Seale.[1]

Dr. Dee records[2] that he 'dyned with the Erle of Derby at Russell Howse' on 13th September 1595, and Cecil[3] refers to his neighbours at Essex House and Russell House in his letter to Thomas Windebank dated 20th February 1600. Stowe gives all three names in his account of 1598, at a time when improvements in the Strand were being made:

The next (house) was Sometime the Bishoppe of Carlisle's Inne, which now belongeth to the Earle of Bedford, and is called Russell House or Bedford house. It stretcheth from the Hospitall of Sauoy west to Iuie Bridge (in the High Street), where Sir Robert Cecill, principall Secretary to her Maiestie, hath lately raysed a large and stately house of brick and timber, as also leuiled and paued the high way neare adioining, to the great beautifying of that street, and commoditie of passengers.[4]

Alterations were also being made to the mansion at this time, and the name was again changed, this time to Herbert House or Worcester House, in consequence of the marriage between Anne, sole surviving daughter and heir of John Russell (son of the second earl of Bedford), and Henry, Lord Herbert, subsequently 1st Marquis of Worcester (1577–1646), at St. Martin's Ludgate on 16th June 1600, when the queen was present. From the accounts of Thomas Screvin and John Brewer, 1599–1601, the numerous letters of Edward, 4th earl of Worcester, 1604–1627, and the stories told by James Howel and Simon Bassyll the builder much may be learnt about Worcester House and its residents.[5] James Howel, after quoting Stow's account of Cecil's new mansion, says:

Worcester House lies sidelong of it, and there being a great walnut tree there growing, which much hindered the prospect of Salisbury house eastward, the Earl bargained with one of Lord Edward Somerset's (the 4th Earl's) servants, that if he could get leave of his lord to cut down that tree, he would give him £100. The servant told his lord of it, who bade him fell down the tree and take the money. But the old Earl (there being no good correspondence betwixt Salisbury and him) caused presently a new brick building to be there erected where the tree stood.[6]

Simon Bassyll writes to Cecil to tell him of the proposed alterations which, he says, include 'two fair returns of square windows, the one proportionable to the breadth of your gallery and the other answerable next my Lord Herbert's house'.[7] Timothy Williams in another letter informs Cecil of a most surprising

[1] *Speculum Britanniae*, 1723; Harl. MS., 570.
[2] *Diary*, Cam. Soc., xix, 1842, 53; corrections by J. Bailey, 1880, 24.
[3] Cal. S.P. Dom., 1598–1601, 398.
[4] Kingsford-Stow, *Survey of London*, ii, 95.
[5] Salisbury MSS., pt. vii, 267; x, 175–6; xi, 343; xv, 227; also Buccleugh MSS. and Exeter MSS.
[6] J. Howel, *Londinopolis*, 1657, 349.
[7] Salisbury MSS., pt. xi, 343.

state of affairs in connexion with the spread of the plague between Temple Bar and Westminster:

> There is in Worcester House many carpenters and other kinds of labourers lodged (I doubt not but it is without the Earl's knowledge) they having 'howsen' and household within the City, whither they usually resort, and so return hither again; by which means some of them have died in his house of the pestilence, and have been conveyed through the garden into the Savoy. And their people there do among the neighbours very dangerously, and in fashion too unreverent to be reported to you. All of which notwithstanding the people daily continue there, and from thence disperse themselves into all 'howsen' and common company.[1]

In September 1608 a London upholsterer, Henry Alsoppe, was charged with stealing property of the 4th earl of Worcester—'a chaire-cushin of clothe of tissue lyned with yellowe satten and fringed and tasseled with silke and gold worth £10, and two couche-bedd cushins of carnation cullered velvett' of the same value; but although he pleaded guilty he was released after judgement of the Court.[2] Rouge-Croix records the death at Worcester House of the Countess Elizabeth on 24th August 1621, and her burial at Raglan, Monmouth.[3] The earl, then Lord Great Chamberlain, officiated at the Coronation of Charles I in February 1626, but the letter of Hugh Owen 'at Worcesthowse' written to his cousin, John Griffith of Bloxham, refers to recurrent illness, and shortly after a funeral certificate at the College of Arms records that he was taken to Raglan for burial,[4] 30th March 1628. The discovery of a cheque-book with its reference to 'a Father of Musick', an inventory with its entry concerning 'a pair of Organs in the gallery of the Great Hall', and a will which reads: 'I give and bequeth unto my sonne Thomas Byrd all my goods in my lodginge In the Earl of wosters house in the straund', make three things clear, namely, that the late earl had been a patron of William Byrd (whose 'Lullabyes' he had praised in his letter of 19th September 1602 to the earl of Shrewsbury); that Byrd had probably composed his Latin church music for the private use of the earl of Worcester; and that he, the 'Father of Musick', was actually living at Worcester House at the time of his death in 1623.[5]

(iii) Worcester House Committees, 1643–1660

It was in the lifetime of Henry Somerset, 5th earl and 1st marquis of Worcester (1577–1646), that this ancient building entered upon the final phase

[1] *Ibid.*, pt. xv, 227.
[2] Middx. Sess. Rolls, 8th Sept. 1608, ii, 42–3.
[3] A. Vincent, *Discourse of Errours*, 1622, 616.
[4] Griffiths MSS. Hist. MSS. Com., 5th Rept., 412; Bradney, *Monmouthshire*, ii, pt. i, 15.
[5] Inventory: See Appendix, p. 174; P.C.C. Wills, 1623, 106 Swann; F. Howes, *William Byrd*, 1928, 214; E. Fellowes, *ibid.*, 1936, 30, 35, 38, 69–70, 94, 162–3.

of its notable history. The earl had already lost within four years his daughter-in-law, Elizabeth, and the Countess Anne, both of whom died at Worcester House between May 1635 and April 1639.[1] He had also pledged himself and his heir fully to support the king against the Scots in 1639, and against Parliament in the Civil War.[2] His flight from Worcester House was brought to an end by death in a mean dwelling on its outskirts in 1646. Worcester House was twice searched—by Sir John Hippesley on 16th November 1641, and by William Parker and Richard Milner on 21st April 1643. Serjeant Glynn, recorder of the city of London, turned out the earl's servants on the first occasion, and on the second refused to hand over the keys of certain rooms when the searchers arrived. Parker testified to hidden goods and hindered the search, saying that sumptuous household stuff worth £2,000 had been grossly undervalued so that Parliament only got £600. Some iron had been found on the premises in 1643, and the proceeds were handed over to the Middlesex collectors.[3]

From the inventory of the delinquent earl's goods, printed in the Appendix, we learn that their value on 21st July 1643 was approximately £276, and that the contents of Worcester House were sold (mostly to Serjeant Glynn) for less than £260. More than 50 rooms are mentioned in the old and new buildings on the street and river fronts. We can trace the progress of the appraisers—Westcott, Searle, and Cole—as they pass from the gateway and stables, through the hall to the stairs, along the gallery into little matted rooms, through larger rooms and upper chambers, until the garrets above the stairs are reached. There are chambers beyond the great room bearing distinctive names from their association with Lord Herbert, Thomas Somerset, Mistress Watson, and the men named Morgan, Owen, and Redman. The footman's chamber and the rooms of the tailor, groom, and porter follow: then the cellars, buttery, larder, scullery, pantry, and laundry.[4] The picture they present is pleasant indeed until the thought intrudes that the owner in 1643 is a fugitive, and after Naseby a delinquent assessed at £10,000[5] (pl. XIX *a*).

Parliament next took over Worcester House for departmental purposes, the Scottish Commissioners being the first to arrive in August 1643, so that by

[1] G.E.C., *op. cit.*, viii, 202; Cal. S.P. Dom., 1639, 43.

[2] D. Masson, *Life of Milton*, 1871, ii, 47; T. Webb, *Civil War in Hereford*, vol. ii; H. Dircks, *Marquis of Worcester*, 1865, and *Worcesteriana*, 1866.

[3] *Commons Jour.*, ii, 75, 83, 317; iii, 54–5; Com. for Adv. of Money, 216; S.P. Dom., xix, vol. 91, no. 155, f. 302; Tracts (Somers, iv, 487; Thomason, i, 41).

[4] S.P. 19, vol. 91, no. 1. See Appendix, p. 170. The officials of Worcester House are referred to in Beaufort MSS., 4, 6; *Lords Jour.*, viii, 291.

[5] Com. for Adv. of Money, 17th Nov. 1645; *Commons Jour.*, iv, 139, 676–7; v, 74, 92, 95; *Lords Jour.*, viii, 109, 291, 294, 483, 490, etc.

1656 more than a dozen committees of the Council of State were occupying its three-score rooms. In 1644 when the Committee of Both Kingdoms was established Parliament made the following order:

It was this Day (30th January) Ordered . . . that Worcester House be forthwith fitted and prepared for the Receipt and Accomodation of the Commissioners and Committees sent from our Brethren of Scotland; and that all Manner of Household Stuff, Linen and other Necessaries for the same be provided and supplied out of any of His Majesty's Wardrobes and other stores, to make up what is wanting at present in the said House; and in case these be not found sufficient in all Particulars in the said Wardrobes, the Residue shall then be supplied out of the sequestered goods at Camden House, or elsewhere.[1]

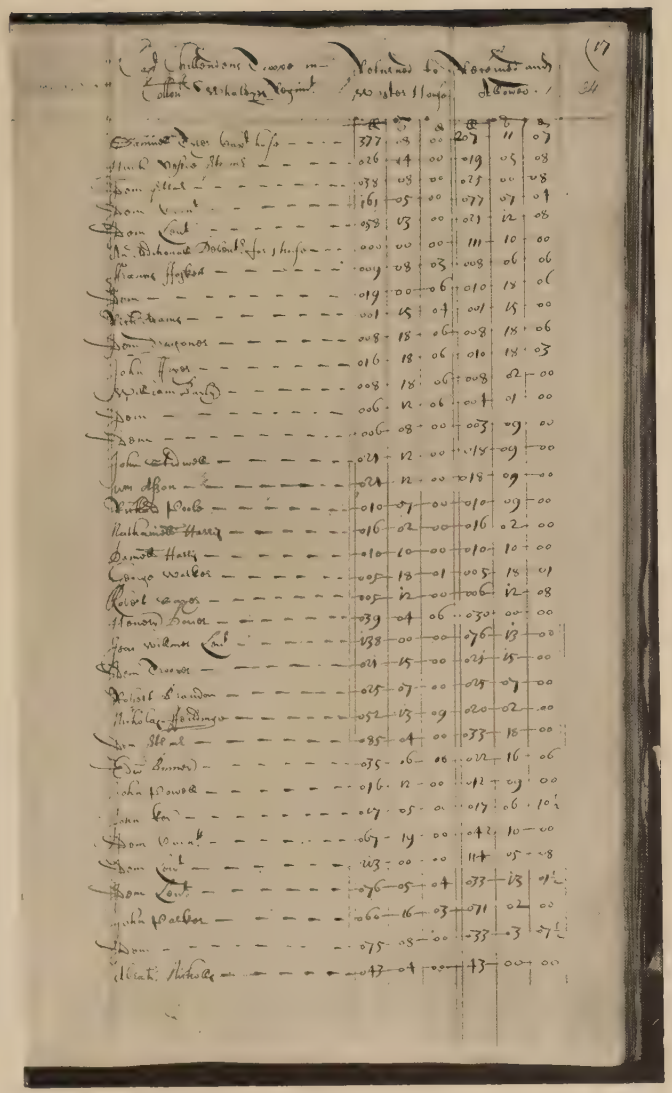
The earls of Northumberland, Essex, and Warwick were members of this committee when it met at Worcester House on 22nd February 1644, and many letters addressed from here by the Scottish Commissioners, some of whose wives were here as well, are in the Erskine and Portland collections, 1644–1650. George Gillespie bought some of the earl's books for Lord Conway about 22nd July 1644, and when he and his wife were leaving, Sir Charles Erskine tried to get his wife lodged in Worcester House, 13th July 1647. A pass dated here a week after Naseby has been preserved: it enabled the countess of Huntingdon with her three children and servants to travel by coach from London to Donnington House, after 21st June 1645. One of the most important letters, of which a copy is among Lord Braye's papers, was dated at Worcester House 1st December 1646: it deals with the question of the king's protection, and as the answer to their own papers of 20–24th October came from the Commons alone they now inform Lenthall, Speaker of the House, that the sealed packet he sent is returned unopened.[2]

In 1645 the Committee of Accounts was established in Worcester House. Parliament next prepared to sell the earl's estates, valued at £6,422. 16*s*. 10*d*. in addition to the London property, and to assign an income of £4 a week to the countess of Worcester and £2,500 per annum to the Protector![3] In the Ordinances of 12th September 1646 and 3rd January 1648 Worcester House was expressly reserved from sale; but the earl of Salisbury, eager to secure the premises, succeeded in getting the officials engaged in the sale of Bishops Lands to add to their list 'the mansion-house situate and being in the Strand, commonly called Worcester House, together with the Gate House, being next the Street,

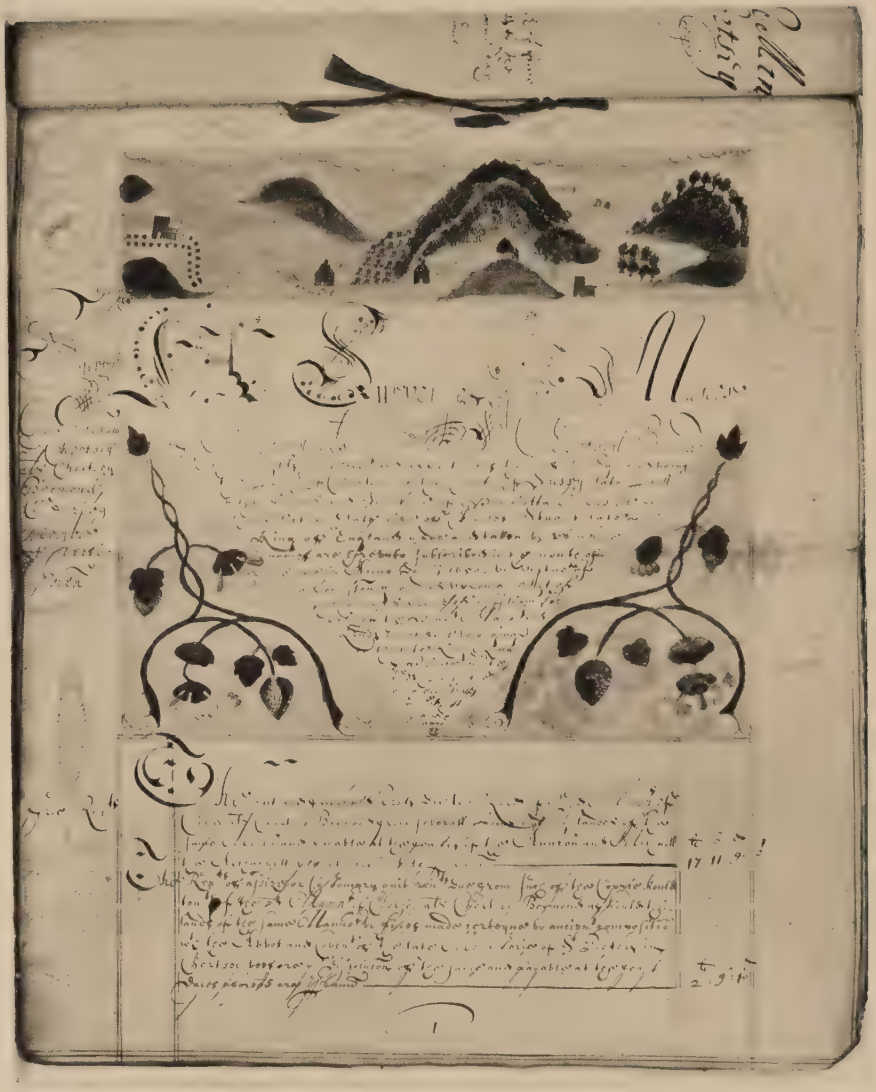
[1] *Lords Jour.*, vi, 399-400, 404.

[2] Portland MSS. i, 198-546. Masson has been misled by Laing's comment in *Baillie's Letters*, both thinking that Worcester House in Vintry Ward is referred to; but that mansion passed into the possession of the Paris family in 1551 (S. J. Madge, *London Inquisitions*, 1561-1577, 1901, 27).

[3] Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, 1911, i, 1057; *Commons Jour.*, v; *Lords Jour.*, viii.



a. Worcester House Regimental Accounts: The Earl of Manchester, Col. Whalley, and Capt. Chillendon, 1649–1650 (Brit. Mus., Harl. MS. 427)



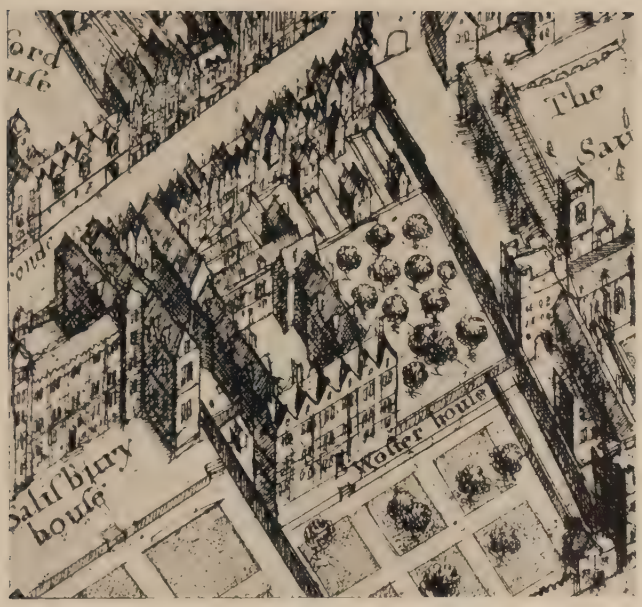
b. Worcester House Surveys of Crown Lands: Col. Wm. Webb, Surveyor-General, June 1650 (P.R.O., Parl. Surveys, Surrey: Manor of 'Chersey alias Chertsey Beomond')

a. Bedford House *c.* 1570. R. Agas (Brit. Mus., Maps 16. c.15)

b. Worcester House, 1658. Faithorne (Brit. Mus., Print Room, Case F. 75)

c. Site of Worcester House in St. Clement Danes Parish, Detached Area No. 2 (Ordnance Survey 1871)

d. Worcester House, 1681–1682. Ogilby & Morgan (Brit. Mus., Crace Portf. II. 58)



a. Worcester House, *c.* 1650. Hollar
(Brit. Mus., Hollar Prints, VIII. 38)

b. Bedford House, 1616. C. J. Visscher, Amsterdam
(Brit. Mus., K. 21. 34. 2 Tab.)

c. Worcester House, *c.* 1650. Hollar (Brit. Mus.,
Crace Portf. V. 168)

d. Beaufort House New Building, 1857. T. H.
Shepherd (Brit. Mus., Crace Portf. XVII. 67)

a. Henry 1st Marquis of Worcester, 1577–1646 (Lodge's Portrait: Duke of Beaufort Collection)

b. Colonel William Webb, *c.* 1649–1660 (Bodl. Lib., Sutherland-Clarendon Collection, 81. 408 b)

and the other tenements, situate and lying between the said Gate and Salisbury House'.

An order was thereupon made on 23rd March 1648 for a survey of Worcester House to be undertaken by John Bentley, William Carter, and Laurence Swetnam, who had already accomplished similar work on the earl's estates in Berks, Gloucester, Hereford, Westmorland, and Glamorgan.[1] This survey was duly sent to the committee at Goldsmiths' Hall; but the document is to-day only a fragment, indecipherable in parts, and the date can no longer be seen:[2]

To the Right Ho'ble, the Committee of Lords and Com'ons sitting at Goldsmith Hall.

In Conformity to an Order of both Howses of Parliament bearing date the xxiiith day of March last, Wee have viewed Worcester Howse with the appurten'nces And doe humbly certifie that ye length of ye Garden abutting vpon ye Riuer of Thames from Salisbury Howse garden vnto ye Wall of a Passage lately sett out, and now belonging vnto diuers Tenements in the Strond doeth containe in length from East to West 238 foote, or thereabouts and in Breadth from ye River vp to ye Howse at ye west side 107 foote, and in breadth at ye East end 137 foote or thereabouts: And one other Garden plott lying betweene ye before menc'oned garden and ye Tenements on the streete side containing in length from East to West 90 foote, or thereabouts And in breadth from North to South 82 foote or thereabouts, with a Passage from ye Howse betweene ye said two gardens towards ye Savoy.

That ye said Howse doeth consist of Threescore Roomes great & small, the greater p'te whereof are of an ancient Structure, ye rest of a later to w'ch doeth belong a stable w'ch will contain eight horses, & two coach howses. . . .

What follows is difficult to make out, the lower part being entirely cut away, but the survey mentions 'that there is an ancient Howse in the Streete w'ch hath allwaies belonged to Worcester Howse, containing thirty-five(?) roomes, leading into ye great Howse'—a reference to the Gatehouse and the erections of 1402–1404. Various measurements of 34 ft. and 18 ft., north to south, and of 3 ft., 5 ft., and 30 ft. on the east and west sides, may refer to the tenements and the gardens between the gateway and Ivy Lane. Nothing is said about the water supply which in the reign of James I was regulated from the conduit at 'Fryers Pyes' on the earl of Bedford's estate north of the Strand.[3] The committee at Goldsmiths' Hall was authorized by the order to sell the premises to the earl of Salisbury. Wheatley, misquoting Whitelocke, says that the mansion was purchased by him 'at the rate of the Bishop's Lands', yet Whitelocke merely states that the earl had the 'Refusal of the purchase of Worcester House'. In

[1] House of Lords MSS., Hist. MSS. Com., 7th Rept., 1879, 17; *Lords Jour.*, ix, 675-8; x, 157; Whitelocke, *Memorials*, 1732, 80; *Proc. Com. for Compounding*, i, 119, vol. G, 247; Bradney, *op. cit.*, ii, 21–2.

[2] P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 23, vol. G. 133, 341; *Cal. Com. for Compounding*, i, 208.

[3] *London Survey*, xviii, 120, 141.

point of fact Salisbury lost his opportunity when Parliament decided, first to include the house in their gifts to Fairfax, then to substitute for this York House, and finally, on 24th August 1649, to retain 'Worcester House, late called or known by the name of Russell House, situate and being in the Strand, in the Parish of St. Clement Danes, Middlesex, late the inheritance of Henry, earl of Worcester', for the purposes of administration.

Throughout this period the search for concealed goods of the late marquis continued, with seizures of cabinets and boxes in Wood Street and elsewhere, in an endeavour to discover the missing property from Worcester House: beds, carpets, hangings, and plate, the travelling coach worth £6, the hat-bands set with diamonds, the various jewels and sets of pearls, the 320 bunches of coined gold in canvas covers worth £2,000, and the enamelled gold chain with 50 links which Lady Montagu claimed as her own.[1]

It was the passing of the Act for the sale of Crown Lands on 16th July 1649 which settled the question of 'retention, gift or sale' of the Strand mansion, for a clause in the Act provided 'That Worcester House, or some other place, as the Trustees shall think fitting, shall be the place where the said several persons shall transact the said service, and put in execution this Act'.[2] The committee for the militia of Westminster also had in March 1649 petitioned that 'they had no room to sit in, or magazine, and they pray that rooms in Worcester House may be assigned to them'.[3] It was therefore decided by the Council of State on 7th August that officers should be permanently quartered in the three houses of Durham, Somerset, and Worcester in the Strand. The Gatehouse and Strand tenements were, however, sold before Col. Barkstead was ordered on 10th January 1651 to lodge four of his troop every night to protect the Treasury of the Treasurers-at-War in Worcester House.[4] The accounts of Col. Whalley's regiment, duly audited here, are recorded in Harleian MS. 427 (pl. XVI *a*). Another committee at Worcester House was known as the 'Committee for removing obstructions in the sale of the Honours, Manors and Lands of the late King, Queen and Prince'; their decisions were entered on the relevant sheets of the Parliamentary Surveys (pl. XVI *b*) by Col. William Webb the Surveyor General.[5]

The final order of the Council of State 'to dispose of Worcester House and the yards and gardens thereto belonging, for the best carrying-on of the public service of the Commonwealth' came on 11th February 1651. Within a month

[1] Com. for Adv. of Money, 2nd Jan. 1647 to 22nd June 1649.
[2] Madge, *Domesday of Crown Lands*, pt. II, ch. 3.
[3] *Commons Jour.*, vi, 173; Cal. House of Lords MSS., 1879, 72.
[4] Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-1650, 264; *Commons Jour.*, vi, 523.
[5] Madge, *op. cit.*, 94–5, and index.

a new committee dealing with the sale of Fee Farm Rents arrived, and as its operations increased the Committee for Accounts and Public Debts at length resigned their own chamber in favour of the Trustees who, having formerly used that room, still needed better accommodation for their service. Besides the County Committee for Middlesex and Westminster already installed there in 1650, the Trustees of Forfeited Estates and those of Forest Lands occupied rooms on the passing of their Acts of 16th July 1651 and 22nd November 1653, and the committees dealing with Claims, Discoveries, and Fraudulent Bills by orders of Council during 1655 and 1656.[1] There were delayed orders for the payment of £280. 1*s.* 3½*d.* between May 1655 and January 1656 for expenses incurred by Trustees in fitting up offices in the building; and further orders of 31st July and 17th October 1656, after Embree and Kinnersley had seen 'how the rooms at Worcester House are disposed of', to find not only 'a convenient room' for the referees engaged in the difficult business of the counterfeit debentures, but two rooms for the Committee for King's Goods—the approved order in the last instance being thus stated:

> The Committee appointed to examine the accounts for the late King's goods to be allowed one clerk with £40 salary, door keeper and messenger with £20, and £20 out of the Council's contingencies for paper, fire, etc., and two rooms over the cellar at Worcester House known as Thomas' rooms, to be assigned them.[2]

This was at a time when, owing to monetary stringency, only one-half of the £500 due to the clerks, messengers, and surveyors employed there had been paid to them.

Of the nature, variety and importance of the work accomplished here by officials during the years 1643 to 1660 nothing need be said, except that in the case of the Crown Lands, administered by Col. William Webb (pl. XIX *b*)—who is ignored by the *Dictionary of National Biography* and called 'Col. Mainwaring Webb' in the index to the Calendar of State Papers for 1645–1647—the revenue derived from these sales amounted to only £6,000 short of two millions.[3] Nor is it necessary to do more than refer briefly to the history of the mansion after its restoration to the family of the late earl, though the material for this purpose is extensive.

The first petition of Margaret, countess of Worcester, for the return of

[1] *Ibid.*, pt. ii, chs. iv, v, vii.

[2] S.P. Dom., 1655–1656, 5; 1656–1657, 46, 133, 259; *Com. for Compounding*, i, 743.

[3] Madge, *op. cit.*, 256, and App. VI, 1–3. Col. Webb's portrait from the Chatsworth copy of Clarendon's History was exhibited by kind permission of the Duke of Devonshire at the Society of Antiquaries Meeting on 27th January 1938, and a photograph is now placed in the National Portrait Gallery. 'Mainwaring Webb' is a composite name which includes Col. Robert Mainwaring, Webb's friend, who was Registrar-Accomptant in the Fee Farm Rents department at Worcester House. An account of Col. Webb's career has since appeared in *Notes and Queries*, vol. 181, 114–116.

Worcester House was of course 'laid aside' on 3rd October 1653, but her second appeal procured the Protector's assent to a bill on 26th June 1657 'for settling of Worcester House, in the Strand in Middlesex, upon Christopher Copley, Esquire, and William Hawley, Esquire, during the Life of Edward Earl of Worcester', in which bill a clause was at the last moment added that the gatehouse and Strand tenements already sold (subject to a decision in favour of Edward Walford, 18th February 1650) should not be impeached or rendered invalid.[1] But on 16th June the Committee of Accounts, ordered by the countess to leave, complained that it was impossible to remove all the soldiers' accounts they had stored there. The Council of State, however, began to consider on 20th October what officers might be discharged from Worcester House, and by 20th August 1659 the decision had been reached that the countess should occupy some of the rooms immediately, and receive £400 as compensation for the retention of the premises, with a further £6 per week for the use of the remaining rooms up to 25th March next. By a resolution of the House of Commons on 14th April 1660 a committee of 37 members was appointed to consider 'how to remove, and where to place the Conveyances, Records and other Writings now remaining at Worcester House, so as they may be disposed for their safety, and the service of the Commonwealth'. The surveys of Crown Lands were subsequently transferred to the Augmentation Office and with other records suffered some damage in the fire of October 1834 at the Houses of Parliament.[2] Almost the last act of the republican government was to use the mansion as a prison, Col. David Hyde being sent to Worcester House, 9th August 1659, by order of President Whitelocke.[3]

When at length the Countess Margaret was in possession she still had cause to complain on 9th May 1660 that 'Commissary Copley is endangering the foundations of Worcester House . . . under colour of some order from the Council of State to search for hidden treasure'; and drastic action at the Bar of the House of Lords was necessary before 'Anne Tisser, who holds the gatehouse, part of Worcester House, and other tenants who hold adjoining houses called Carlisle Rents' would obey orders for the surrender of these premises, issued on 29th August 1660.[4]

Worcester House after the Restoration was occupied by Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, who made it the Chancellery of England from 1660 to 1667.

[1] *Commons Jour.*, vi, 285, 367; *Lords Jour.*, vii, 576; xi, 134-5, 147; Morrison MSS., Hist. MSS Com., 9th Rept. 1884., 442.

[2] *Commons Jour.*, vii; Cal. S.P. Dom., 1657–1658, 30, 131; 1659–1660, 130, 200, 585; Burton's *Diary*, 1828, i–iv; *Thomason Tracts*, ii, 87; Madge, *op. cit.*, pt. V.

[3] Cal. S.P. Dom., 1659-1660, 93, 95, 204–5, 600.

[4] House of Lords MSS., Hist. MSS. Com., 7th Rept., 80, 122; *Lords Jour.*, xi, 19, 108–9, 134–5, 147.

Here he wrote his letters and dispatches and the memoranda for his world-famed *History of the Great Rebellion*. Both Pepys and Evelyn speak of the house and its visitors, the political and religious controversies, the banquets, and the entertaining scandal of the Court. Here the king and Clarendon shared confidences, the duke of York and Anne Hyde mutual joys; and here royalty witnessed the secret marriage of the duke, and the baptism on New Year's Day 1661 of the Chancellor's grandson, the future earl of Cambridge. Pepys mentions the great hall, in which Clarendon was installed chancellor of the University of Oxford, in his diary under 20th August 1660. When the plague arrived he left this house for Chiswick, and upon his fall from power in 1667 (with the death of the second marquis of Worcester in the same year) Worcester House came into the possession of Henry Somerset (1629–1700).

Amid scenes of great splendour three chancellors of Oxford or Cambridge were installed in the great hall of Worcester House—the earl of Clarendon, already mentioned, in November 1660; the duke of Ormonde in 1669, and the duke of Monmouth five years later. The account given of the installation of the chancellor of Cambridge University on 3rd September 1674 provides much information concerning the mansion which may be compared with the details disclosed in the inventory and survey taken 30 years before.[1] Henry, 3rd marquis of Worcester, created duke of Beaufort in 1682, carried the crown of Anne Hyde at the coronation of James II. After 1682 the house became known therefore as Beaufort House, and although Kingsford thought that Worcester House was pulled down in that year to make room for Beaufort Buildings, it was a fire in 1695 which destroyed Beaufort House. Upon the site rose Beaufort Buildings (pl. XVIII *d*), with its memories of Arbuthnot and Fielding, and of the various artists, occulists, perfumers, print-sellers, publishers, and even 'prophets' who from time to time dwelt there, only to disappear in the drastic demolition and reconstruction scheme of the Strand in 1890–1895, when the Savoy Theatre finally covered the site of the famous mansion, leaving neither name nor stone to recall its historic past.[2]

[1] Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, 1845, iii, 560–3.

[2] For the post-Restoration period see Cal. S.P. Dom. Charles II; Treasury Books, 1660-1667; *Jour.* of both Houses; *Diaries* of Evelyn and Pepys; Lives of Clarendon, Ormonde, and Monmouth; Beaufort MSS.; Cowper MSS.; Verulam MSS.; Strype's *Survey*, bk. iv, 114; Kingsford-Stow, *London*, supp. II, 29; London Top. Soc. Record, x, 85.

APPENDIX

Inventory of Worcester House, 31st July 1643

[P.R.O., S.P. 19, vol. 91, no. 1]

Fol. 1 [£20. 14*s.* 9*d.*]

An Inventory of the goods of the Earle of Woster A delinquent seized and taken the last daye of July 1643 & Appraised at the prizes heere vnder written by the apprayssers whose names are heere vnder subscribed.[1]

	£	*s.*	*d.*
In the Taylers[2] Room up 3 prs of Stayers			
1 halfe headed bedsteede			
1 feather bed & boulster & A pillow 2 blanketts & A Cov'rlid.	2	10	0
1 old trunck A table & other lumber	0	6	0
In A litl garrett next the taylors Roome on the same floare			
1 halfe headed bedsteede			
1 feather bed & boulster one flock boulster			
1 blankett & A Couerlid (wth. lumber[3])	1	15	0
In one other Roome Vp 3 pr of staires			
one halfe headed bedsteade			
1 featherbed & boulster A pillow 2 blanketts & A cou'rlid.			
A yellow say Canopy & 2 Curtains	3	0	0
A greene Matted Chaire A table			
A great Chist & lumber	0	6	0[4]
In An other Roome vp 6[4] staires higher			
1 halfe headed bedsted	0	1	6
A feather bed & boulster 2 blanketts & 1 olde cou'rlid.	1	5	0
In the next Roomes one the same floare			
3[4] halfe headed bedsteeds	0	5	0
2 flock beds & boulsters 4 blanketts	0	18	0
1 feather bed A boulster 2 blanketts	1	10	0
8 peeces of black Cotton hangings Containeing 125 yards at 9d.	4	13	9
A p'rcell of old black Cotton	1	5	0[4]
A deale press[5]			
6 Elme planks	1	0	0
5 old truncks	0	8	0
2 brasse pans 1 brase pott A brase kettle 2 skilletts 1 skimer	0	15	0
A p'rcell of old tinn	0	3	0
2 leaden potts som ½ C' (waight)[3]	0	5	0

[1] John Cole, John Westcott (fol. 5), Humphrey Seale (fol. 8).
[2] The servants named include the tailor (fol. 1), groom and footmen (fol. 6), and porter (fol. 7).
[3] Additions to entries. [4] Alterations in words or figures.
[5] Followed by an erased entry.

	£	s.	d.
2 old Iron driping pans a gridiron an Iron barr & other old Iron	0	5	0
1 old w^tt beares skinn	0	1	6
1 other old trunck & Lumber in it	0	2	0
Som old sadles & Crupp^rs	–	–	–

Fol. 2 [£20. 18*s.* 0*d.*]

In the upp^r Roome in the new building[1]			
1 Elbow Cloath Chaire to run in one Wheeles	0	5	0
2 Court Cubberds	0	4	0
5 voyders	0	5	0
2 large planks & tresles	0	5	0
som potts & glasses	–	–	–
An Iron grate one Wheele[4]	0	10	0
In A litle Matted Roome one y^e same flower			
A halfe headed bedsteede	0	3	0
1 feather bed & boulster 2 blanketts and 2 Red Rug	2	10	0
1 Elbow Chaire & 3 stooles of old (bought?) Stuff	0	10	0
1 neast of boxes (& A frame)[2]	0	5	0
A little Cubberd	0	3	0
A square table	0	2	0
stript hanging About y^e Roome	1	0	0
In An other upp^r Roome in the New buildings			
1 halfe headed bedsteede	0	1	6
1 feather bed & boulster 1 pillow 3 blanketts & A greene Rugg	2	5	0[3]
Darnex hanging about a Closset	0	6	0[3]
1 Elbow Chaire & 2 low back Chaires of black Cloath	0	8	0
A square table (& an old chaire)[2]	0	1	0
In A litle Roome next[3] below in the old building[3]			
1 halfe headed bedsteed	0	1	6
A feather bed & boulster[3] 2 blanketts & 1 Cou^rlid[4]	2	5	0
4 planks & an old table	0	6	0
In the Long garrett in the old building			
1 feather bed	1	0	0
2 old back chaires	0	2	0
3 Curtaine Rodds	0	2	6
Som Deale boards & an old table	1	0	0
1 old Veluett Elbow Chaires	0	6	0

[1] Dating from 1600–1604. The buildings on the Strand side, erected 1402–1404, with the Gate-house of greater age, were sold in 1650; the remainder were used by government officials from 1643 to 1660, for which £400 compensation was paid to Margaret, countess of Worcester.

[2] Additions to entries. [3] Alterations in words or figures.

[4] Followed by an erased entry.

	£	s.	d.
In A litle Roome at the end of the Long garrett			
1 halfe headed bedsteede	0	1	6
2 feather beds 2 boulsters			
2 blanketts 2 couerlids	3	0	0
1 old table	0	1	0
In An other Roome on the same flouer			
1 half headed bedsteed	0	1	6
1 french bedsteede			
greene Curtaines & Vallance & A Counterpaine of Kersey	1	0	0
2 elbow chaires & 2 stooles	0	4	0
1 feather bed & boulster 3 blanketts & an old cou'lid	2	0	0
1 old Court Cubberd & A table	0	1	0
Old hangings about ye Roome	0	2	6
1 Elme planke 1 litle table & 2 stooles	0	4	0

Fol. 3 [£55. 2s. 0d.]

	£	s.	d.
In Mr. Thomas Somersetts[1] Chamber up one p'r of staires			
7 peeces of old tapistry hangings	2	0	0
stript stuff About A Clossett in the same Chamber	0	5	0
1 old stope bedstede			
Curtaines & vallance of broade cloath			
Imbroadered (& A Counter paine)[2]	2	0	0[3]
1 low back Chaire & 3 stooles of the same (& 1 elbow Chaire)[2]	0	7	0
1 old turkey Chaire & 1 stoole			
1 old turkey Carpett	0	5	0[3]
1 feather bed & boulster 3[2] blanketts A quilt & 1 pillow	3	0	0
1 p'r of old Andirons & A p'r tongs	0	1	6
A halfe headed bedsted 1 feather bed & boulster 2 blanketts & A Couer lid	2	0	0
A p'rcell of old darnex	0	5	0
In the next Rome on the same flouer			
3 large drawing tables			
1 long deale table	3	0	0
In An other[3] Roome one the same flower			
7 peeces of Tapistry hangings	14	0	0
1 Elbow Chaire 4 back Chaires & 11 stooles of turkey woorke	2	0	0
1 ovall table wth falls	1	0	0[3]
A Court Cubberd	0	5	0
4 window Curtaines of greene bayes	0	10	0
A screened p'r of bellowes & A fire forke	0	1	6

[1] *Supra*, p. 163. Two sons of the earl are named—Thomas (fol. 3) and Edward Somerset (fol. 5).
[2] Additions to entries. [3] Alterations in words or figures.

	£	s.	d.
In A litle Matted Room in the New building			
4 peeces of tapistry hangings	12	0	0
1 turkey Carpett	0	8	0
A stope bedsteed Curtains & vallance tester & Counter paine & headcloath of Red cloath laced & lyned w'th sky color sarsnett	5	0	0
1 Elbow Chaire 1 high back chaire 2 high stooles 2 low stooles of the same Red cloath laced.	0	17	0
2 low back stooles & 2 other od stooles	0	6	0
1[1] feather bed & boulster			
1 pillow A quilt A Mattrice			
2 blanketts 2 fustian blanketts	4	0	0
1 old stript Curtaine	0	4	0
1 p'r of brasse Andirons 1 p'r Creep'rs A fire shouell	0	12	0
2 square tables & A Court Cubberd	0	3	6[1]
A screene w'th 4 foulds cou' w'th greene bayes	0	3	6
A small Case of drawers cou'ed w'th Red leather	0	4	0

Fol. 4 [£28. 7s. 0d.]

In a Matted Roome one the same flower next the Thames side[2]			
1 square table w'th falls	0	16	0
1 Elbow Chaire 6 back Chaires of Cloath of silver[3]	1	0	0
5 back Chaires & 1 Elbow Chaires of old printed Veluett	0	18	0
In M'is Watsons[4] Chamber			
4 peeces of tapistry hangings	5	0	0
1 stript window Curtaine	0	2	0[1]
1 stope bedsted Curtaines & Vallance of watchett perpetuaria laced	2	0	0
1 Downe bed & A fether boulster A pillow A quilt 2 blanketts A greene Rug	3	0	0
2 old Turkey Carpetts	0	6	0
3 Elbow Chaires 2 back stooles & 3[1] stooles	0	12	0[1]
2 litle tables & A Court Cubberd	0	3	0
1 p'r Creep'rs w'th brasses	0	1	6
A wenscoat press	0	5	0
A litle press	0	3	6
1 box of drawers	0	6	0

[1] Alterations in words or figures.

[2] Overlooking the south gardens and Worcester Stairs.

[3] 'White Damaske' erased.

[4] The earl's servants included Mrs. (Sarah ?) Watson (fol. 4), Robert and Hugh Owen (fol. 6), Morgan (fol. 6), James Redman, 'the housekeeper' or steward (fol. 8), and John Smith, 'constant Solicitor there'. (Beaufort MSS. pp. 4, 6; *Lords Jour.* viii, 291.) The burial of Thomas Ridley, another servant, at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 24th April 1620, is recorded in Harl. Soc. Reg., lxvi, 158.

	£	s.	d.
In 2 litle Roomes next to M'is[1] Watsons[2] Chamber			
2 litle tables A[1] Court Cubberd & An old trunck 1 old close stoole w'thout A pan	0	10	0[1]
In one other Roome[1] one the same flore Matted[1]			
4 peeces of tapistry hangings	5	0	0
5[1] printed veluett high stooles			
3 other stooles	0	18	0[1]
1 old table & A pershia[1] Carpett	0	4	6
2[1] stript window Curtaine (& Rod)[3]	0	8	0
1 p'r Iron Andirons & A fire shouell w'th brasses	0	4	0
In the Gallery[4]			
21[1] pictures in frames[1]	–	–	–
1 Mapp	–	–	–
28[1] pictures w'thout frames	–	–	–
1 litle Couch of Cloath of siluer	0	15	0
1 Elbow Chaire & 8 stoole of siluer fugureed googaraine	2	0	0
1 Elbow Chaire 2 low stooles of Cloath of siluer	0	12	0
1 Elbow Chaire 2 back Chairs			
3[1] stools & A foote stoole	2	5	0
1 p'r of Organs[5]	–	–	–
In A litle Matted Roome next by			
3 back Chaires of Red Cloath laced	0	12	0
2 square tables	0	2	0
3 pictures	–	–	–
1 p'r of bellows & 2[1] p'r dogs	0	1	6[1]
1 old Close stoole case	0	2	0

Fol. 5 [£60. 2*s.* 6*d.*]

At the staires head goeing downe out of the Gallery.			
A marble table	1	0	0[1]
In A litle Roome vnder the gallery Matted			
A p'rcell of old Darnex	0	15	0[1]
1 french bedsteede	0	4	0
1 feather bed 2 boulsters 1 pillow			
3 blankets & A[1] Red Rugg	2	10	0

[1] Alterations in words or figures.

[2] Sarah Watson's will, dated 20th Aug. 1637, and John Watson's petition concerning the earl's tenants, 2nd May 1646, are mentioned in Bradney, *op. cit.*, ii, 16; House of Lords MSS., 6th Rept. 1877, 115; *Lords Jour.*, viii, 291.

[3] Addition to entry.

[4] Books are mentioned in a short list, 22nd July 1644, in S.P. 16, vol. 502, nos. 63, 63 I. Plate not recorded. Some of the pictures are known.

[5] See Byrd, *supra*, p. 162.

	£	s.	d.
1 halfe headed bedstede	0	2	0
1 feather bed & bulster 1 pillow 3 blankets & A Cou'lid	2	0	0
5 old stooles	0	4	0
1 broade box	0	3	0
1 Deale Chist	0	4	0
A large flat trunck cou'ed w'th Red Cloath	0	8	0
A wainscoate[1] press	0	10	0
A Chist w'th one drawer	0	4	0
An old close stoolecase[2]	0	1	0
1 small square table	0	1	0
In A litle Roome next below			
1 Elbow Chaire 2[1] high back chaire 2 high stooles	0	18	0
A litle table & A Court Cubberd	0	2	0
1 old turkey Carpett	0	3	0
In The Lord Harberts[3] Chamber			
5 peeces of tapistry hangings	14	0	0
1 stope bed stede Curtaines & Vallance & tester & Counter paine of leade color Cloath laced 1 w'th buttons & loopes & silck fringe	2	10	0
1 Elbow Chaire & 2 low stooles of the same	0	12	0
1 greene Elbow chaire	0	6	0
2 high back Chaires 2 low stools of Red Cloath laced	0	14	0[1]
2 Window Curtaines & Rod	0	10	0
A screene w'th 4 foulds cou' w'th greene bayes	0	4	0
A small square table & A Court Cubberd	0	4	0
A p'r of Andirons a fire shovell & tongs & A p'r of doggs	0	6	0
A feather bed A boulster 2 pillowes & A Mattrice A p'r of blanketts	3	10	0
In the greate Chamber			
5 large peeces of tapistry hangings	24	0	0
5 Window Curtaines of Stript stuff & 3 Rods	1	10	0
2 Drawing tables	0	15	0
2 square tables	0	5	0
2 Court Cubberds	0	10	0
1 Elbow Chaire A back chaire & 5 high stooles & A fame of turkey Worke	0	16	0
A screene & A p'r of tongs	0	1	6

[1] Alterations in words or figures. [2] Followed by an erased entry.

[3] Edward Somerset (1601–1667), styled Lord Herbert from 1628 to 1644, earl of Glamorgan and Baron Beaufort 1644, marquis of Worcester 1646.

Fol. 6 [£31. 6s. 0d.]	£	s.	d.
1 small turkey Carpett	0	8	0
3 small greene Carpetts	0	8	0
In the Hall			
1 old Drawing table 1 other old table 3 formes & A Court Cubberd	0	10	0[1]
In the going up to the Hall			
1 old Deale Chist	0	2	0
A tinn watering pott A sithe a p'r of garden sheares & other tooles	0	4	0
In the Buttery & Celler[2]			
A binn & A Cubberd	0	5	0
6 stillings for beere	0	10	0
1 batheing tubb	0	6	0
A great old brass ketle	0	15	0
other tubbs & lumber	0	5	0
In an other Celler			
5 old stillings & lumber	0	12	0
In the ffootemens Chamber			
2[1] feather beds 2[1] flock boulsters 1 feather boulster 2 old blankets 3 old cou'lids 2 halfe headed bedsteeds (& lumber)[3]	2	0	0
In A litle Roome by that			
1 halfe headed bed steede, 1 feather bed & boulster A flock boulster			
A feather pillow 3 blanketts & A Cou'lid	2	5	0
(& lumber in the Roome)[4]	0	5	0
In the Groomes Roome			
1 halfe headed bedsteede A small feather bed & boulster			
2 blanketts & an old cou'lid	1	10	0
lumber[3] in the same Roome	0	5	0
In the next Roome			
2 halfe headed bed steeds[1] 3 flock beds 3 boulsters & 3 old Cou'lids & blanketts	0	15	0
In Mr. Morgans Chamber			
5[1] peeces tapistry hangings	11	0	0

[1] Alterations in words or figures.

[2] The domestic quarters include the buttery (fol. 6), cellars (fols. 6-7), kitchen, larder, laundry, pantry and scullery (fol. 7), with the porter's lodge (fol. 7), and stable (fol. 8).

[3] Additions to entries. [4] Indistinct through folding and repair of paper.

	£	s.	d.
A Court Cubberd & (an)[1] old Carpett	0	6	0
1 Elbow Chaire & 2 stooles	0	10	0
1 p'r of Iron Andirons w'th brasses	0	3	0
In A litle Roome w'thin that			
1 halfe headed bedsteede 1 feather bed a boulster & pillow 2 blanketts an old yellow Rugg	1	10	0
A Canopy & Curtaines of yellow say	0	6	0
In Mr. Owins[2] Chamber			
1 trunck w'th Iron plates	0	8	0
And in it as followeth:			
10 p'rs of sheetes	1	10	0
13 Course table Cloathes			
3 Do's of old napkins	1	0	0
1 other old trunck	0	3	0
& in it:			
9 old Dyep'r table cloathes			
6 dozen of napkins & six towells			
all Dyep'r very old	1	15	0
(1 halfe headed bed steede 1 feather bed & boulster 2 blanketts 1 couerlid & a canopye).[1]	1	10	0
Fol. 7 [£17. 7*s.* 0*d.*[3]]			
one other truncke[4]	0	0	0[5]
and in it as followeth:			
4[5] p'rs of old sheets			
2 dozen of old napkins 2 pillow beds	0	10	0
1 large flat truncke	0	8	0
In the next chamber to Mr. owins			
1 halfe headed bed steede			
A Canopy 1 feather bed 2 boulsters			
3 blanketts			
A Checkand Rugg & A quilt	1	15	0
A Court Cubbard w'th lumber[6]	0	5	0[5]
In one other Cellar[5]			
7 stillings & lumber	0	16	0

[1] Additions to entries.

[2] Hugh (*supra*, p. 162) and Robert Owen: the former an executor of Sarah Watson's (fol. 4) will, dated 20th Aug. 1637; the latter an executor of Hugh Owen's, 20th Aug. 1640, proved 2nd July 1642.

[3] Reduced from £19. 2*s.* 0*d.* owing to a cancelled item. [4] Left margin: 'Mr fflood'.

[5] Alterations in words or figures. [6] Followed by an erased entry.

	£	s.	d.
In the Kitchen			
A fire Range 6 Racks a fire forke	1	10	0
7 Iron spitts 2 gridirons 2 p'r of pot hookes			
4 frying pans (4 driping pans)[1]	1	5	0
1 brase ketle 1 brase pott			
3 skilletts & A skiner	1	0	0
A copp'r furnas	1	0	0
lumber in the kitchen	0	10	0
In the Larder			
A stilling & A planke 3 tubbs and lumber	0	4	0[2]
In the scullery			
12 pewter dishes 2 pye plates			
8 Candle sticks 1 flaggon			
2 Chamber potts 2 Close stoole pans			
a salt 1 bason 4 saucers And A pot			
w'th one eare weighing 60 'lb @ 7'd p'r lb'	1	15	0
1 halfe headed bedsted an old truncke & lumber	0	5	0
In the pantry			
1 feather bed & boulster 1 flock boulster			
2 blanketts & 1 cou'lid	2	0	0
A setle bed A binn A Chist 3 Cubberds	0	10	0
In the Landry			
1 halfe headed bedsteede 2 feather beds			
2 boulsters 2 old blanketts	2	0	0
2 litle tables	0	2	0
1 p'r of tongs & fire shouell	0	1	0
A p'rcell of old tubs & lumber	0	6	0
A copp'r in the Chimny	0	10	0
In A Matted Roome next the strete[3]			
1 Elbow Red Cloath Chaire cou'ed w'th Red Cotton[4]	–	–	–
2 Cubberd w'th drawers	–	–	–
1 Drawing table one Court[2] Cubberd	0	8	0
2 Court Cubberd 1 square table	0	4	0
A table & other lumber	0	3	0
In the Porters Roome[5]			
1 feather bed & boulster 2 blanketts			
1 p'r sheets & A Cou'lid			
A square table[2] (& lumber)[1]	–	–	–

[1] Additions to entries. [2] Alterations in words or figures.
[3] The Strand. [4] Cancelled: 'Left w'th one of the house', and 'Not in gros'.
[5] £1. 15*s.* 0*d.* cancelled: 'claym'd by the Porter', and 'Not in gros'.

Fol. 8 [£40. 8s. 0d.]	£	s.	d.
In the Stable			
old lumber	0	8	0
In the upp'r long garrett[1]			
A bundle of feathers			
nine[2] frames for stooles			
9 greene chaires & stooles of (greene)[3] Cloath	–	–	–
A bed for A Couch & seats of blew damaske[4]	–	–	–
In Mr. Redmans[5] Chamber.[6]			
1 bedsteede & yellow say Curtaines & vallance laced			
1 feather bed 2[6] boulsters 2 pillows			
2 blanketts & A yellow Rug			
A p'r of sheets & A pillow bede			
2 tables & A stript Carpett			
4 stooles	–	–	–

Fol. 8.			
Additions to the Inventory:[3]			
It' (1) 10,000 foot of oaken Inch board	30	0	0
(2) Certaine oaken planks And scaffolding poles & boards	10	0	0
Som' total's	£274	5	3[6]
Exam'[7] Humphrey Seale.			
(3) 1 Chaldron of Coles	1	3	0
(4) halfe A Chaldron of Coles	0	11	6
Som' tot'lis[8]	£275	19	9

Fol. 9 [£1. 14s. 6d.[9]]

Notes on the additional items in Fol. 8:—[3]

(1er) Theese were sold to Mr. Standishe but at xxviii^{li}'

(2) Theese were deliu'ed to surveigher of the fortificacons by order of this Committee of the [tenth] day of [August] 1643.

(3) Mr. ffendall heth & del' [to the Committee] . . . . . .

(4) Capt. Or heth & del' [to the Committee] . . . . . .

[1] 'Claymed by Mr. Cruff the vphouster at chering crose: Not in grost.'

[2] '1 dozen' cancelled. [3] Additions to entries. [4] 'Claymed by a servant in the house.'

[5] 'Mr. Redman claimes: not in grost.' [6] Alterations in words or figures.

[7] Some indistinct initials, with £40. 8s. 0d. for the folio total.

[8] The values range from 1s. to £30, but more than half are less than 8s. 6d., and the average is only £1. 7s. 6d. Each folio is separately summed up, the amounts ranging from £17. 7s. 0d. (fol. 7) to £60. 2s. 6d. (fol. 5).

[9] Fol. 10 has an endorsement, 'No. 65. An Inventory of the Earle of Worcesters goods', together with names, erasures, and altered amounts from £236. 0s. 3d. to £276. 0s. 3d. (appraised at £275. 19s. 9d.: sold for £258. 19s. 9d.) The sum of £1. 14s. 6d. (fol. 9) is derived from items 3 and 4 (fol. 8).

Further Notes:—	£	s.	d.
sold the goods to M'r Glynne[1] for	234	5	3
sold the coles for	1	14	6
sold the tymber & boards for	28	0	0
toto[2]	£263	19	9

The planks & boards were deliu'ed to the Comptroler of the fortificacons for the vse of the State by order of this Comittee of the xth of August xix Cur'R's [1643] w'ch came to x^{li} & there were made of the Rest of the goods £263-19-9 soe Remaynes in the hands of the Collectors[3] vpon this Inventorie to Accompt for the som'e of £263. 19. 9

[1] Sergeant John Glynn, Recorder of the City of London (*supra*, p. 163).
[2] The total has been altered to £258. 19*s*. 9*d*.
[3] The Middlesex collectors.

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